NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA
Bulletin No. 194

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANTHROPOLOGY 1961 – 62

PART II

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
CANADA 1964

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NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES No. 62

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PART II

Issued under the authority of
The Honourable Maurice Lamontagne, P.C., M.P.
Secretary of State

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OTTAWA 1964

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Price subject to change without notice

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.
Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery
Ottawa, Canada
1964

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN ANTHROPOLOGY FOR 1961

By T. F. McIlwraith[1]

Adler, Fred W. A Bibliographical Checklist of Chimakuan, Kutenai, Ritwan, Salishan, and Wakashan Linguistics (*International Journal of American Linguistics* XXVII(3), July, 1961, 198–210). The author gives a comprehensive and well-organized bibliography of publications of, or containing, linguistic material on tribes of southern British Columbia and Washington.

Anderson, J. W. *Fur Trader's Story.* Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1961. 245 p. The author has lived in the north for over fifty years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Anthropologically, the volume contains valuable eye-witness descriptions of the Mistassini Cree before 1914, when they were still entirely dependent on hunting; equally important are his observations on culture change among the Eskimo after World War II.

Baird, Irene. Land of the Lively Arts (*The Beaver*, autumn, 1961, 12–21). A new form of art has developed among the Eskimo of Cape Dorset, consisting of seal-skin prints made on stone-cut blocks. Though the impetus has come from the white man, it is the native artists who have created this distinctive and living art in this medium.

Balikci, Asen. Relations Inter-Ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, baie d'Hudson, 1957 (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 64–107). This is a scholarly study of the relations at Great Whale River between the Eskimo and the white man. After describing the history of contact from the eighteenth century onwards, the author deals in great detail with the period from 1955 to 1957, when governmental and economic forces alike produced profound changes. The themes analysed include such matters as employment, wealth, health, and personality traits.

——— Suicidal Behaviour Among the Netsilik Eskimos (*North*, VIII(4), July-Aug., 1961, 12–19). In this paper, which is of theoretical as well as practical importance, an anthropologist looks objectively at the reasons for suicide among the Netsilik.

Barbeau, Marius. The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534–1538) (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 108–229). Included in the *Voyages* of Jacques Cartier are two lists containing in all 228 words and phrases described as illustrating the language of the natives of Canada. In this critical and scholarly essay, Barbeau points out the improbability of such linguistic work having been written by an untrained sea-captain; he believes that the material was collected by one of the leading scholars of the period from Indian captives brought back by Cartier on each of his expeditions. Barbeau then compares the terms with those of recorded Iroquoian languages, including his own work among the last survivors of the Huron-speaking Indians, and concludes that the two sets of words are from two languages, Huron-Wyandot in the collection from the first voyage, and Mohawk from the second.

——— Legend and History in the Oldest Geographical Names of the St. Lawrence (*Inland Seas,* XVII(2), summer, 1961, 105–13). Among the place-names of the

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[1] Former Professor of Anthropology and Head of the Department, University of Toronto, who died on March 29, 1964.

St. Lawrence, there are many of Indian origin, indicative of the tribal groups who formerly occupied that area. This interesting article was first published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal.*

—— *Tsimsyan Myths.* (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 174, Anthropological Series 51.) Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. 1961. P. v, 97. This volume is an excellent example of the interactions of ethnology and of art, and of Barbeau's competence in these two fields. The main portion of the book comprises a series of Tsimshian (Tsimsyan) myths, collected by William Beynon, who was the author's native assistant for forty-five years. The Haida made extensive use of Tsimshian myths as themes for their carvings in argillite; the author includes illustrations of many of these, including specimens from museums in many parts of the world, as well as a few reproductions of Tsimshian wood carvings.

BARNOUW, VICTOR. Chippewa Social Atomism (*American Anthropologist,* LXIII(5, part 1), Oct., 1961, 1006–13). The author reiterates a contention made in an earlier paper that Ojibwa (Chippewa) society comprised a large number of small, independent units which were capable of splitting off and reassembling in different groups, a type of society which he terms "atomistic." He believes that early descriptions of relatively large gatherings of Ojibwa, for ritual or other purposes, do not negate his conclusion.

BAUMAN, ROBERT F. Claims vs. Realities: The Anglo-Iroquois Partnership (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXXII(3), summer, 1960, 87–101).

—— Iroquois Empire (*ibid.,* XXXII(4), autumn, 1960, 138–72). In these two historical essays, the author analyses the causes and results of the Iroquois conquest of the Hurons in the seventeenth century. He considers that it was an economic struggle in which the Iroquois, though successful in war, were unable to gain and hold the all-important role of middlemen in the beaver trade, and that their claims to the area north of Lake Ontario by right of conquest were ill-founded. Furthermore, the Ottawas gradually took over a leading position as suppliers of fur, and the English found that the Iroquois had no control over areas to the west.

—— Ottawa Fleets and Iroquois Frustration (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXXIII(1), winter, 1960–61, 6–40). Although the Iroquois had defeated the Hurons decisively in 1649, they did not succeed in winning either economic or political control of the Lake Huron area. Instead, by 1670, various Algonkian tribes had established themselves as masters of the area; the most important were the Ottawa whose centre was on Manitoulin Island.

BIERHENKE, WILHELM, WOLFGANG HABERLAND, ULLA JOHANSEN, and GUNTER ZIMMERMANN, *eds. Amerikanische Miszellen: Festband Franz Termer in Freundschaft und Verehrung gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schulern zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres.* (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Volkerkunde in Hamburg, XXV.) Hamburg: Kommissionsverlag Ludwig Appel. 1959. 206 p. Though little of the material in this volume is directly pertinent to Canada, it warrants inclusion in any Canadian bibliography as an example of the recrudescence of post-war German scholarship as applied to American anthropology, as well as for some interesting data on animal soul beliefs among northern tribes.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. "The Eskimos": Some Comments (*Anthropologica,* III(1), 1961, 82–4). The author of *The Eskimos* takes exception to a number of criticisms by WILLIAM E. TAYLOR, JR. in a review published in *Anthropologica.* He considers the points in detail, adding further data to support his conclusions. (*See also* the reviewer's answering comments, under TAYLOR, WILLIAM E., JR., in this bibliography.)

——— Recent Achievements in Eskimo Research (Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: *Compte-rendu de la Troisième Session, Bruxelles, 1948*, Tervuren, 1960, p. 17). A brief summary of recent advances in the field of Eskimo studies.

Blessing, Fred K. Birch Bark Cutting Tools (*Minnesota Archaeologist*, XXIII(2), April, 1961, 26–32).

——— Discovery of a Chippewa Peyote Cult in Minnesota (*ibid.*, XXIII(1), Jan., 1961, 1–8).

——— Fasting and Dreams among Minnesota Ojibway (*ibid.*, XXIII(1), Jan., 1961, 9–11).

——— A Visit to an Ojibway Dream Dance (*ibid.*, XXIII(1), Jan., 1961, 12-16). These four short papers describe elements of culture studied by the author among the Minnesota Ojibwa. The first deals with hand-made iron tools used in collecting birch-bark; the others deal with aspects of religious life, including the role of visions, and a description of a ceremonial associated with dreams.

Bushnell, Geoffrey. Radiocarbon Dates and New World Chronology (*Antiquity*, XXXV(140), Dec., 1961, 286–91). A brief note on the probable period of initial settlement of the New World and of major movements within the continent.

Cahiague, 1961. (Public Lecture Series University of Toronto Archaeological Field School at The Cahiague Village Site, Simcoe County, Ontario, June 15 – Aug. 15, 1961). 1961. 140 p. As is indicated on the inner fly-sheet, this volume consists of sixteen lectures delivered to students and visitors at the University of Toronto Archaeological Training School in 1961. In some cases the lecturers provided copy; in others the addresses were taken down in shorthand. J. N. Emerson, Director of the School, has contributed lectures on the meaning of archaeology, as well as on various aspects of Iroquoian work; J. E. Anderson has written on the significance of osteological work; the other essays are anonymous. Apart from the obvious value of such a series to students and visitors, the volume contains material of lasting value, and it is unfortunate that no indication is given of its publisher nor whether it is printed for private circulation only.

Campbell, John M. The Kogruk Complex of Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska (*Anthropologica*, III(1), 1961, 3–20). Archaeological work in the Brooks Range, Alaska, has disclosed a distinctive culture, represented principally by rough chert flakes. The closest assemblance to this complex is that found at British Mountain in the Yukon. The site is of great antiquity; it is tempting to note similarities to implements from the lowest levels of the Malta site near Lake Baikal, and, indeed, to the Mousterian.

——— The Tuktu Complex of Anaktuvuk Pass (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(2), May, 1961, 61–80). Archaeological work in Anaktuvuk Pass of the Brooks Range, Alaska, has revealed nine distinctive cultural components. One of these, the Tuktu complex, is based upon more than 1,500 stone specimens, including a number of notched points. Though precise correlation with other sites is somewhat problematical, the author suggests an antiquity of about 3,500 years. This is a scholarly and well-documented archaeological report.

Canada: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. *The Indian in Transition*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961. 24 p. This attractive pamphlet consists of two articles first published in *The Beaver* in 1960, and noted in this bibliography. On account of their relevance to current problems of cultural adjustment, the Department of Indian Affairs has printed them together for wide distribution. The articles are: *The Meeting of the Ways* by Douglas Leechman and *Learning for Earning* by Leslie Smith.

Carpenter, Edmund S. Frauds in Ontario Archaeology (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist* XXXI(2), Aug., 1961, 113–8). The author criticizes severely archaeological work in Ontario.

Chafe, Wallace L. Seneca Morphology V: Expanded Aspect Suffixes; Attributive Suffixes (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXVII(1), Jan., 1961, 42–5); Seneca Morphology VI: Other Prefixes (*idem*, XXVII(2), April, 1961, 114–18); Seneca Morphology VII: Irregularities and Variants (*idem*, XXVII(3), July, 1961, 223–5); Seneca Morphology VIII: Charts, Indexes, Corrections, and Additions (*idem*, XXVII(4), Oct., 1961, 320–8). These four papers, of a highly technical nature, complete the author's intensive study of Seneca morphology.

—— *Seneca Thanksgiving Rituals.* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 183.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1961. P. iii, 302. Among the many surviving elements of Iroquois life are religious rituals belonging to the Handsome Lake code introduced in the early nineteenth century. This volume gives the texts of speeches and songs of two ceremonies of Thanksgiving, with translations and linguistic commentary, as well as the musical notation. They were collected on the Seneca Reservation in New York State in 1959. Apart from its ethnological value, the description gives a vivid picture of the role of religious ritualism in Iroquois life, as well as of its continuing place even in the modern world.

Chard, Chester S. Additional Materials from Lake El'gytkhyn, Chukchi Peninsula (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(1), Dec., 1960, 1–10). In 1959 Okladnikov described material from an important archaeological site on Lake El'gytkhyn, probably dating from the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age. Further specimens have now been recorded, and there has been a difference of opinion as to their use. Chard summarizes the Russian articles and illustrates the controversial artifacts.

—— First Iron Artifact from the Old Bering Sea Culture (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(1), Dec., 1960, 57). In 1959 an engraving tool with iron point was found in a grave at Uelen. Since the implement clearly belongs to the Old Bering Sea Culture, it can be deduced that iron, though very rare, did occur; it is problematical from what source it was derived.

—— Northwest Coast—Northeast Asiatic Similarities: A New Hypothesis (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 235–40). The author suggests that the well-known cultural resemblances between the Northwest coast and the "Palaeo-Asiatics" are not due to direct diffusion, but to inheritance from a common culture area from Kamchatka to Puget Sound.

—— Routes to Bering Strait (*American Antiquity*, XXVI(2), Oct., 1960, 283–5). There appear to be two routes through Siberia by which man could have reached Bering Strait during the Pleistocene, a fact which must be considered in regard to human migrations to America.

Charland, Thomas. Un Village d'Abénakis sur la Rivière Missisquoi (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, XV(3), Dec., 1961, 319–32). In consequence of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, the Abenaki of St. Francis were required to leave their homes in what is now Quebec for a settlement on the Missisquoi River. The author describes the history of their movements in the eighteenth century.

Clark, Donald W. A Decorated Stone Lamp from the Kodiak Area (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska,* IX(1), Dec., 1960, 58–60). By a photograph and text, a description is given of an unusual stone lamp found near Kodiak, which appears to represent a sea-mammal.

Clark, Ella Elizabeth. *Indian Legends of Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. 1960. 177 p. This is an attractive selection of Indian legends, presented in easy literary style for use in schools.

Clark, Grahame. *World Prehistory: An Outline.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1961. P. xv, 284. As the title suggests, this volume is an over-all description of the prehistory of the world. It is a brilliant work. Although the Old World is treated far more fully than the New, the summary of early cultures in America, of their dates and interactions, and of possible correlations with Siberia is a masterly synthesis of complex data.

Clarke, Arthur H., Jr., and John S. Erskine. Pre-Columbian *Littorina littorea* in Nova Scotia (*Science,* CXXXIV(3476), 11 Aug., 1961, 393–4). Shells of this gastropod found in prehistoric sites in Halifax County, Nova Scotia, prove the species not to have been a recent importation.

Coffin, Tristram P., *ed. Indian Tales of North America.* (American Folklore Society, Bibliographical and Special Series, vol. XIII.) Philadelphia: American Folklore Society. 1961. P. xvii, 157. This is an anthology of North American Indian tales, chosen and edited by a student of folklore from the literary point of view. The selection has been wisely made, and the volume has value to anthropologists as a collection of material from a wide range of sources, brought together in a single volume and published in non-technical language.

Corbett, John M. River Basin Salvage in the United States (*Archaeology,* XIV(4), winter, 1961, 236–40). As a contribution to a series of papers on archaeological work in river valleys in various parts of the world, the author discusses work undertaken with the aid of government funds in areas of the United States prior to dam construction and consequent flooding of prehistoric and historic sites.

Dailey, Robert C., and Lois A. Dailey. *The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Report.* Ottawa; Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. 1961. P. ix, 237. Rankin Inlet is the only area in the North where Eskimo have been employed in the mining industry. This comprehensive publication describes both the actual socio-economic structure at Rankin Inlet and the effects of this upon Eskimo culture and personality. The authors give a lucid account of Eskimo kinship terminology, life cycle, housing, and food habits, noting, repeatedly, innovations involved in the widespread culture changes. They provide specific data on morbidity and health measures, on food preferences, and on the vexed question of segregation. Included is a detailed case-history of Eskimo childbirth. Figures are given on income and employment. Specific recommendations are made. This is an important study in applied anthropology.

Davis, Wilbur A. *Archaeological Investigations of Inland and Coastal Sites of the Katmai National Monument, Alaska.* (Society for American Archaeology, Archives of Archaeology, IV.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. P. xi, 216. (three double-sided microcards.) This report embodies the archaeological sections of a study of the resources of the Katmai National Monument. Included are the results of excavations of sites apparently abandoned in 1912 on account of the eruptions of Mount Katmai, as well as at Kukak where deposits resembled those on the Alaskan coast.

Day, Gordon M. A Bibliography of the St. Francis Dialect (*International Journal of American Linguistics* (XXVII(1), Jan., 1961, 80–5). This bibliography gives a complete listing of linguistic material in the Abenaki dialect, spoken by the Indians of St. Francis, Yamaska County, Quebec. The value as well as the scope of each entry is given.

De Laguna, Frederica, *ed. Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist, 1888–1920*. (Edited for the Publications Committee of the American Anthropological Association.) Evanston: Row, Peterson Co. 1960. P. x, 930. The aim of this volume is to illustrate the early history of anthropology in America by a collection of important papers published in the *American Anthropologist* in its first forty years. Included among them are a number of papers on ethnology of Canadian Indian tribes and on archaeological work in Canada.

Desrosiers, Léo-Paul. Il y a trois cents ans (*Les Cahiers des Dix*, XXV, 1960, 85–101). This interesting ethno-historical essay gives a vivid picture of war, and threats of war, in Quebec three hundred years ago. Hostilities with the Iroquois were imminent; the whole colony was in danger of destruction; it was a period of fear and uncertainty.

Doré, Madeleine. Bibliographie Américaniste (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XLVII, 1958, 237–363).

——— Bibliographie Américaniste (*ibid.*, XLVIII, 1959, 263–388).

——— Bibliographie Américaniste (*ibid.*, XLIX, 1960, 135–274). For many years this has been the most comprehensive annual bibliography of American anthropology, using the term in its broadest sense. Arranged on both a geographical and subject basis, the entries are particularly valuable for their listing of European articles. Unfortunately, reference to these articles was inadvertently omitted in the bibliography for last year.

Drake, Robert J., *ed. Molluscs in Archaeology and The Recent* (2, Dec., 1960, 8–15; 3, April, 1961, 16–20; 4, Aug., 1961, 21–8; (5, Dec., 1961, 29–44). Vancouver: Department of Zoology, University of British Columbia. Each of these mimeographed pamphlets lists current articles on the study of molluscs, giving, in each case, a critical summary of the contents and significance of each entry. Since archaeological reports are included wherever they cite data on shells, the bibliographies are of importance to the anthropologist.

Drucker, Philip. The Kake Totem Poles (*American Anthropologist*, LXIII(6), Dec., 1961, 1338). In this brief note, the author replies to a criticism (*see* citation in this bibliography under Jackman, J. Earl) of a statement in his volume, *The Native Brotherhoods*, that totem-poles at Kake, Alaska, were cut down under missionary influence.

Duchaine, William J. Integration in Alaska (*The Beaver*, summer, 1961, 48–53). In simple language, the author describes some of the work of modern Eskimo in Alaska; many of the positions they now hold have become available to them through post-war technical training.

Duff, Wilson. The Killer Whale Copper (British Columbia, Provincial Museum, *Report for the Year 1960*, Victoria, 1961, 32–6). This unusual and interesting article describes in detail the transactions at which a Kwakiutl copper was transferred in recent years. A specific account of this kind gives information on the sentiments involved in the use of coppers, as well as on the financial considerations involved.

Dulong, Gaston. Chéticamp, Îlot Linguistique du Cap-Breton, *Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 12–41). Chéticamp is an isolated Acadian settlement on the west side of Cape Breton; the population is about 4,000, largely descended from forty families who settled there in 1780. This paper is a detailed study of the dialect spoken today, including pronunciation and vocabulary.

DUNNING, R. W. Differentiation of Status in Subsistence Level Societies (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Section II, Third Series, Vol. LIV, June, 1960, 25–32). It has been commonly thought that there was little status differentiation among hunting peoples having a low subsistence level and that, when differentiation occurred, it was limited to proficiency in the major economic role of hunting. Recent studies show that rather complex status conditions are found among a number of hunting peoples, including the Ojibwa of Pekangekum in northwestern Ontario.

DURHAM, BILL. *Canoes and Kayaks of Western North America.* Seattle, Washington. Copper Canoe Press, 1960. 104 p. This well-illustrated and well-written volume gives an accurate and comprehensive survey of aboriginal craft of the Pacific coast of North America. The author gives details of construction, of dimensions, of the distribution of different types, and of their relationship to one another. This is an excellent example of an important contribution to anthropology made by a non-professional.

EDWARDS, NEWTON. Economic Development of Indian Reserves (*Human Organization,* XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 197–202). The author describes economic development on various United States Indian reservations, often with the aid of considerable government financial aid. The growth of co-operative industries among the Eskimo and Indians of Alaska is particularly pertinent to Canada.

ELLIS, C. DOUGLAS. The So-Called Interrogative Order in Cree (*International Journal of American Linguistics,* XXVII(2), April, 1961, 119–24). A detailed study of Cree, as spoken in the Moosonee area of northern Ontario, reveals the occurrence of the interrogative as a distinct verb order, and the fact that it is not an archaic form.

ELMENDORF, WILLIAM W. System Change in Salish Kinship Terminologies (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* XVII(4), winter, 1961, 365–82). In this scholarly analytical paper, the author describes two types of Salish kinship terminology and advances an ingenious hypothesis to explain the reason for this differentiation.

EMERSON, J. N. Problems of Huron Origins (*Anthropologica,* III(2), 1961, 181–201). On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of pottery recovered from archaeological sites between Toronto and Georgian Bay, the author postulates the degree of correlation of resemblances between the different villages. This leads to the conclusion that many elements of Iroquoian culture took form in the Great Lakes area, and that one strand of this cultural heritage spread from the Toronto area to form part of the historic Hurons. This is an important paper, both for its conclusions and as a contribution to archaeological method.

ERSKINE, J. S. Shell-Heap Archaeology of Southwestern Nova Scotia (*Proceedings of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science,* XXIV(4), 1957–58 (published, Dec., 1960), 339–75). Extensive excavations of ten shell-heap sites in southern Nova Scotia have revealed much information on the culture, and changes in culture, of Indians who antedated the Micmac and who may have been their ancestors. Artifacts, including stone and bone tools, and pottery are described and well illustrated. The author gives significant data on food resources and on evidence for a lessening importance of shore camps, probably associated with climatic change.

Eskimo Personality in the Light of Nine Rorschachs from Great Whale River Eskimo (*Research Previews,* Institute for Research in the Social Science, University of North Carolina, VIII(1), Dec., 1960, 8–13). This anonymous article gives in full detail the results of Rorschach tests administered to nine Eskimo at Great Whale River on Hudson Bay.

Fenton, William N. The Hiawatha Wampum Belt of the Iroquois League for Peace: A Symbol for the International Congress of Anthropology (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 3–7). The Iroquois wampum belt described in this article was used in peace ceremonials and is, therefore, a suitable symbol for an international congress.

—— Iroquoian Culture History: A General Evaluation (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 25, 1961, 253–77). As a concluding paper to a symposium on the Cherokee and Iroquois, the author describes broadly their history and their distinctive characteristics, noting particularly the effects of culture change. He suggests various fields for future research.

——, and John Gulick, *eds. Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture.* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1961. P. vi, 292. As the editors explain, the twelve papers in this volume are a link in the long history of scholarly studies of various aspects of Iroquois life. The project is largely the outcome of a plan formulated at one of the Red House Conferences, and most of the papers were presented at the meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1958. Each essay is followed by one or more sets of comments. Each relevant paper is included in this bibliography, but it seemed wise to cite the whole volume as well.

Flaskerd, George A. The Chippewa or Ojibway Moccasin Game (*The Minnesota Archaeologist*, XXIII(4), Oct., 1961, 86–94). A description of the equipment used by the Ojibway of Minnesota in the moccasin game; this pastime was formerly known throughout the whole Ojibwa area.

Forbis, Richard G. Early Point Types from Acasta Lake, Northwest Territories, Canada (*American Antiquity*, XXVII(1), July, 1961, 112–13). A small series of stone artifacts from Great Bear Lake, N.W.T., includes one point of Agate Basin type, and two of Lerma type, but no microblades. This may indicate a very early site on the tundra.

—— Rescuing the Past in Canada (*Archaeology*, XIV(4), winter, 1961, 257–60). This is a brief summary of what is being done in salvage archaeology on both historic and prehistoric sites in various parts of Canada.

Fowler, William S. Movement of Prehistoric Peoples in the Northeast (*Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, Inc.*, XXII(3–4), Apr.-July, 1961, 62–7). In a brief paper, the author suggests the probable routes of prehistoric movements in the New England area, as well as the sequence of cultures.

Franch, Jose Alcina. *Bibliografia Basica de Arqueologia Americana.* (Publicaciones del Seminario de Antropologia Americana, Vol. I.) Seville: Universidad de Sevilla. 1960. 124 p. This is a comprehensive and useful bibliography of more than 1,200 entries, arranged logically under regional headings.

Freeman, John Finley. The American Indian in Manuscript: Preparing a Guide to Holdings in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (*Ethnohistory*, VIII(2), spring, 1961, 156–78). The library of the American Philosophical Society has a large amount of manuscript material on the Indians, some of it dating from 1815. A list of these documents is being prepared, with a brief description of each item and a note on its significance.

Gessain, Robert. L'Art Squelettique des Eskimo (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XLVIII, 1959, 237–44). Text descriptions and illustrations are given of four wooden anthropomorphic figurines from the Angmassalik Eskimo of Greenland; they are compared with four figures from the Central Eskimo, which are also depicted.

GHOBASHY, OMAR Z. *The Caughnawaga Indians and the St. Lawrence Seaway.* New York: The Devon-Adair Company. 1961. P. xii, 137. The flooding of lands for the seaway has necessitated the expropriation of property and the movement of considerable numbers of people. One of the most difficult cases of dislocation was that of the Caughnawaga Indians, near Montreal, whose land was held under statutes which rendered expropriation both legally and ethically difficult.

GIDDINGS, J. L., JR. Cultural Continuities of Eskimos (*American Antiquity,* XXVII(2), Oct., 1961, 155–73). The Eskimo area presents a picture of long and continuous occupation, with regional specializations and cross-currents of cultural influences. In the Bering Sea region nine horizons can be recognized, belonging to two different traditions, one leading to the Old Whaling culture, the other to the Denbigh Flint complex, which is essentially pre-Eskimo.

——— A View of Archeology about Bering Strait (*Acta Arctica,* XII, Copenhagen, 1960, 27–33). This is an able and authoritative summary of the sequence of Eskimo cultures in the Bering Strait area.

GILLIAT, ROSEMARY. Eskimo Children (The Geographical Magazine, XXXIV(8), Dec., 1961, 462–8). A short description, with attractive photographs, of Eskimo children at Cape Dorset.

——— The Shaggy Toys of Port Burwell (*The Beaver,* winter, 1961, 28–33). With photographs and accompanying text, the author describes the manufacture of seal-skin toys, a craft recently developed by the Eskimo of Port Burwell.

GJESSING, GUTORM. The One-eyed God—A Study in Diffusion (Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: *Compte-rendu de la Troisième Session,* Bruxelles, 1948, Tervuren, 1960, p. 95). One-eyed gods occur in Asiatic and American myths, and are depicted on the Northwest coast masks. Their occurrence appears to be a definite case of cultural diffusion.

GREENMAN, EMERSON F. The Indians of Michigan (*Michigan History,* XLV(1), Mar., 1961, 1–33). In a simply written but authoritative essay, the author describes the culture of the Indian tribes of the Michigan area, as recorded by early explorers, and follows this with the history of their interactions with French, English, and Americans. Written for the layman, and perhaps particularly for school children, the bringing together and the synthesizing of a large mass of data on the history of the Indians of the Great Lakes make this a useful summary for Canadian anthropologists.

GROULX, LIONEL. *Dollard, est-il un mythe?* Montreal: Editions Fides. 1960. 60 p. The purpose of this pamphlet is to uphold the reputation of Dollard as the hero who saved Montreal. Essentially historical, it contains a certain amount of information about the Iroquois and their war tactics in the seventeenth century.

GUNTHER, ERNA. Indian Craft Enterprise in the Northwest (*Human Organization,* XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 216–18). The author gives a brief commentary on the relative paucity of Indian crafts in Washington and British Columbia produced for commercial purposes.

——— A Re-evaluation of the Cultural Position of the Nootka (*Men and Cultures,* International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 270–6). Largely on the basis of specimens of material culture brought back by early explorers and preserved in European museums, the author postulates that Nootka culture was probably as highly developed as that of any other part of the Northwest coast and that its apparent deficiencies are largely the result of geographical isolation and unfavourable European contact.

HAAS, MARY R. Some Genetic Affiliations of Algonkian (*Culture in History, Essays in Honour of Paul Radin,* STANLEY DIAMOND, *ed.,* New York, Columbia

University Press, 1960, 977–92). The author recapitulates theories regarding connections between Algonkian and other linguistic stocks and introduces evidence in support of still wider genetic relationships.

HAGAN, WILLIAM T. *American Indians.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. P. xi, 190. This volume fully justifies its inclusion in the *Chicago History of American Civilization* series. It is written with an appreciation of culture values and of the social impacts of culture contact, rather than from the standpoint of the chronicler of specific events. Hagan begins with the conflict between European ways of life and those of diverse Indian tribes; he follows this with a record of the gradual conquest by the white man and the breakdown of tribal custom. This has been done before, but the author brings his theme up to the present, with an account of changing Indian policies and of the rise of pan-Indianism. Though limited to the United States, this book is of importance to Canadian administrators and others concerned with Indian integration into the modern world.

HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View (*Culture in History, Essays in Honour of Paul Radin*, STANLEY DIAMOND, *ed.*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, 19–52). On the basis of an intimate knowledge of the Ojibwa, obtained by long field experience, the author describes their world view and their classification of beings and concepts which make up their universe. Linguistic analysis is used in many cases to explain the significance of certain types of classification.

HAMMERICH, L. L. Can Eskimo be related to Indo-European? (Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: *Compte-rendu de la Troisième Session, Bruxelles, 1948.* Tervuren, 1960, 100–1). Although a relationship between Eskimo and Indo-European linguistic stocks cannot be proved at present, there is a possibility that such may ultimately be deduced from an exhaustive phonemic study.

HARP, ELMER, JR. *The Archaeology of the Lower and Middle Thelon, Northwest Territories.* (Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 8.) Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America. 1961. 74 p. Investigations along 150 miles of the valley of the Thelon River, westward from Baker Lake, revealed 46 sites, belonging to at least four archaeological complexes. The earliest was of the Archaic period, then Pre-Dorset Eskimo and a return of the Archaic Period interior hunters, followed by Thule Eskimo and their descendants, the proto-historic Caribou Eskimo. The area was always sparsely populated by people entirely dependent on caribou. The report is well illustrated; the descriptions of artifacts are excellent, and the conclusions are ably presented.

HARRINGTON, LYN. Old Crow: Yukon's Arctic Village (*The Beaver*, winter, 1961, 4–10). Illustrated with beautiful photographs by RICHARD HARRINGTON, this brief article gives a vivid picture of life in the Loucheux village of Old Crow, close to the Alaska border.

[HARRINGTON], M. R. Quaint Quill-work (*The Masterkey* XXXV(3), July-Sept., 1961, 116–17). A brief description of a Mohawk birchbark box decorated with an unusual design in dyed quillwork.

HEINE-GELDERN, ROBERT. Theoretical Considerations Concerning the Problem of Pre-Columbian Contacts between the Old World and the New (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 277–81). The possibility of trans-Pacific contacts with the New World affected anthropological schools of thought and has had a lasting influence upon interpretation of American culture history.

Heusser, Calvin J. *Late-Pleistocene Environments of North Pacific North America: An Elaboration of Late-glacial and Post-glacial Climatic, Physiographic and Biotic Changes.* (*American Geographic Society*, special publication, No. 35.) New York: American Geographic Society. 1960. P. xxiii, 308. The author gives an exhaustive study of climatic conditions and environment on the Pacific coast between California and Alaska; this provides important material to archaeologists working in the area, as well as data on the possibility of migration routes along the coast, a theme which he discusses.

Heyerdahl, Thor. Sea Routes to Polynesia (*Expedition*, IV(1), fall, 1961, 22–9). On the basis of specific similarities in culture traits, the author postulates diffusion between the British Columbia coast and Polynesia.

Hlady, Walter M. *A Community Development Project Amongst the Churchill Band at Churchill, Manitoba, September 1959 – March 1960.* Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Centre for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan. 1960. 38 p. [mimeo.] As a result of culture change, some 270 Chipewyan Indians have taken up relatively permanent living-quarters on the outskirts of Churchill, forming what is essentially a "shack-town." The author was employed by the Indian Affairs Branch to conduct a community development project in the area; this report is a detailed description of the problem and the methods employed and their results, and, finally, it sets out specific recommendations. It is, therefore, an example of anthropological and sociological techniques as applied to a depressed Indian group. Among the topics considered are—employment, with seasonal fluctuations accentuated by lack of technical skills; the attitude of the Indians and of the administration; paternalism and co-operation; schooling; specific economic projects; and the relationship of the Chipewyan to the community at large.

Hoffman, Bernard G. The Codex Canadiensis: An Important Document for Great Lakes Ethnography (*Ethnohistory*, VIII(4), fall, 1961, 382–400). The Codex Canadiensis or "Les Raret [es] des Indes" is a collection of about 180 unsigned drawings which, from internal evidence, must have been made in 1701 by Charles de Granville and dedicated to Louis XIV. The album contains drawings of plants, birds, mammals, and fish of New France, as well as of Indians in costume and of various articles of Indian manufacture. This little known Codex was reproduced in a limited edition in 1930. It is now in the Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and is obviously a document of major importance.

Hoffman, Hans. Culture Change and Personality Modification Among the James Bay Cree (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(2), May, 1961, 81–91). In a study of personality and of culture aspects among the Cree of James Bay, observations were made at Great Whale River, and T A T plates were used at Attawapiskat. The results are given in this scholarly paper, which is important for its methodology as well as for the data recorded.

Holm, Bill. Carving a Kwakiutl Canoe (*The Beaver*, summer, 1961, 28–35). Using as guide a description of Kwakiutl canoe-making published by Boas in 1909, the author constructed a canoe; the steps are illustrated with excellent photographs, each having as caption a relevant quotation from Boas' original monograph.

Honigmann, John J. Circumpolar Forest North America as a Modern Culture Area (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 447–51). The author points out that the forest region of northern North America is a little-understood culture area, inhabited by two main strains, the Indian and the white. Acculturation is progressing rapidly, but the complex picture is rendered still more complex by the lack of homogeneity in each of the groups.

—— The Great Whale River Eskimo: A Focussed Social System (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(1), Dec., 1960, 11–16). In 1949 and 1950 the aboriginal culture of the Eskimo of Great Whale River, Quebec, had been greatly affected by that of the white man, of whom the missionary and the trader were the most prominent representatives. They had, however, maintained a distinct cultural entity which operated beside that of the white man, not in an isolated position.

—— North America (*Psychological Anthropology*, FRANCIS L. K. HSU, *ed.*, Homewood, Illinois, 1961, chapter IV, 93–134). The first section of *Psychological Anthropology* comprises summaries of Culture and Personality studies in different parts of the world. The author describes the history of this aspect of anthropology in North America, with a scholarly appraisal of the contributions of various writers, and some of their major conclusions.

HOPKINS, VIVIAN C. De Witt Clinton and the Iroquois (*Ethnohistory*, VIII(2), spring, 1961, 113–43); *ibid*, VIII(3), summer, 1961, 213–41). De Witt Clinton, who was Governor of New York State in the early part of the nineteenth century, was keenly interested in the Iroquois. His writings contain observations on aspects of their culture which he had observed, as well as on their history and contemporary problems.

HORSMAN, REGINALD. The British Indian Department and the Abortive Treaty of Lower Sandusky, 1793 (*The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, LXX(3), July, 1961, 189–213). In a scholarly historical essay, the author describes events of 1792 and 1793 in the Old Northwest. The American government was trying to reach an agreement with the Indians of the Ohio region in regard to the cession of land and a permanent border between Indian territory and white settlement; Governor Simcoe was endeavouring to bolster the claims of Indians who were friendly to the English; there was rivalry between Indian tribes and a lack of co-ordination between policies enunciated in London, Montreal, and on the actual frontier.

HOSLEY, EDWARD H. The McGrath Ingalik (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(2), May, 1961, 93–113). Ethnological studies on the upper Kuskokwim River in central Alaska show that the area was formerly inhabited by at least two groups of Athapaskan Indians, one with cultural affinities to the Ingalik of the lower Yukon, the other to the Tanana. The author gives a general description of the present and earlier culture of the people.

HULTON, P. H. John White's Drawings of Eskimos (*The Beaver*, summer, 1961, 16–20). The sixteenth century artist, John White, is best known to anthropologists for his drawings of Indians from Virginia. In addition, he drew an Eskimo man and woman, probably individuals captured by Frobisher in 1577; these portraits are preserved in the British Museum. Other sketches of Eskimo scenes suggest that White may himself have been a member of Frobisher's second expedition.

HYDE, GEORGE E. *Indians of the High Plains, from the Prehistoric Period to the Coming of Europeans*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. This is a broad study of Indian movements on the Plains, emphasizing particularly tribal identifications and locations in the contact period.

Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, [*Bulletin*]. (II(1), Jan., 1961; II(2), March, 1961; II(3), June, 1961; II(4), Sept., 1961; II(6), Nov., 1961.) These five bulletins (II(5) was apparently not published) not only record the activities of the Association, with its emphasis upon research, but clearly bring to light some of the long-range questions which must be considered in respect of the future of Indians and Eskimos in Canada.

(*The*) *Indian News.* (IV(4), April, 1961; V(1), June, 1961; V(2), Dec., 1961.) Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. *The Indian News* is a bright little news-sheet, issued by the government, containing illustrated articles of general interest about modern Indian activities. Like *The Native Voice,* q.v., and *Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada,* q.v., its value to anthropologists lies in its records of contemporary events which illustrate what Indians are doing today. The combination of the three publications is particularly valuable, since each is written about similar occurrences, but from a different viewpoint.

Inuktitun. Ottawa; Queen's Printer. 1961. 20 p. Attention should be drawn to this little pamphlet in Eskimo, probably one of the first publications in that language. It comprises a number of topical articles, well illustrated. *Inuktitun* is in Roman type, but a similar booklet is entirely in syllabic script, under the title of *Inuktitut.* A series of these pamphlets is being produced by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for Eskimo readers.

JACKMAN, J. EARL. The Totem Poles at Kake, Alaska: A Correction (*American Anthropologist,* LXIII(6), Dec., 1961, 1337–8). In this brief note, vigorous exception is taken to a statement by Drucker in *The Native Brotherhoods* that totem-poles at Kake in Alaska were cut down under missionary pressure.

JACOBS, WILBUR R., *ed. Letters of Francis Parkman.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Vol. I, p. LIX, 204; Vol. II, p. XL, 286. This beautifully edited collection of a series of Parkman's letters not only throws light on his wide and deep interest in, and knowledge of, Indians, but upon the place of the Indians in nineteenth century scholarly thought.

JAMES, BERNARD J. Social-Psychological Dimensions of Ojibwa Acculturation (*American Anthropologist,* LXIII(4), Aug., 1961, 721–46). This is a study of Ojibwa personality, as observed in 1951–52 on a reservation in Wisconsin, a community which can itself be regarded as an American subculture.

JAMIESON, STUART. Native Indians and the Trade Union Movement in British Columbia (*Human Organization,* XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 219–25). British Columbia Indians have taken an active part in Trade Union activities, particularly in lumbering and fishing; this has affected both their economic position and ethnic attitudes.

JONES, GWYN. How the Vikings Discovered America (*Listener,* LXIV (1642), Sept. 15, 1960, 417–18; LXIV (1643), Sept. 22, 1960, 461–2; LXIV (1644), Sept. 29, 1960, 508–9). Three interesting discussions of Viking explorations in the New World.

JULIEN, HENRI. Expedition to the North-West (*Alberta Historical Review,* IX(1), winter, 1961, 8–26). The author, who died in 1908, as an artist, accompanied the Northwest Mounted Police from Toronto to the foothills of the Rockies when, in 1874, they moved west to establish posts on the prairies. His diary, published here for the first time, includes a few items about the Dakota Indians whom they met *en route.*

KENNEDY, MICHAEL STEPHENS, *ed. The Assiniboines: From the Accounts of the Old Ones Told to First Boy (James Larpenteur Long).* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. P. LXXV, 209. John Long is a well-educated Assiniboine of mixed-blood who was employed, as were many other Indians in the depression days of 1939–40, to write down accounts of his own people as obtained from older members of his tribe. In this volume he describes, in a clear and convincing manner, activities belonging to the days of buffalo hunting; it is a useful contribution to the ethnology of the western Plains.

KENYON, W. A. Old Fort Albany Relics (*The Beaver,* summer, 1961, 21–3). In 1960 the author led an expedition to investigate the reputed site of Fort Albany on James Bay. Even the first reconnaissance sufficed to identify the location of an early fort, to recover numerous articles, and to obtain a few facts about the construction of the building.

—— The Swan Lake Site (University of Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, Art and Archaeology Division, *Occasional Paper*, III, 1961, 1–37). A reconnaissance in the area north of Lake of the Woods resulted in locating twenty-six sites, comprising twenty-three temporary camps and three villages, at one of which considerable archaeological work was carried out. The material recovered is similar to specimens from other sites in northwestern Ontario, suggesting a culture area of considerable size. Apparently the prehistoric population followed a similar pattern to that of the modern Indians, in dispersing to small fishing camps during the summer.

——, and Nancy S. Cameron. The Brock Street Burial (University of Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, Art and Archaeology Division, *Occasional Paper*, III, 1961, 39–55). The authors describe the skeleton and grave goods from a Point Peninsula burial found accidentally in the course of a commercial excavation in Peterborough, Ontario.

Kurath, Gertrude P., with comment by William C. Sturtevant. Effects of Environment on Cherokee-Iroquois Ceremonialism, Music, and Dance (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 18 and 19, 1961, 173–204). Having compared resemblances and differences in the music and the dramatic rituals of the Iroquois and the Cherokee, the author discusses reasons for the divergencies in respect to geographical factors and to possible cultural influences from adjacent tribes with diverse traits.

Lacourcière, Luc. The Present State of French-Canadian Folklore Studies (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXXIV(294), Oct.-Dec., 1961, 373–82). The author gives an informative description of the history of the study of French-Canadian oral traditions and songs, with a summary of the type and scope of contemporary work.

Lagassé Jean H. Community Development in Manitoba (*Human Organization*, XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 232–7). In this special issue of *Human Organization* devoted to economic problems of the Indians, the author describes the Community Development programme of the Manitoba Department of Welfare, which has as its aim the integration of Indians and Cree into the full life of the province.

Landar, Herbert J. A Note on the Navaho Word for Coyote (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXVII(1), Jan., 1961, 86–8). The author points out an apparent genetic relationship between a Navaho word and cognates in Chipewyan.

Larsen, Helge, Archaeology in the Arctic, 1935–60 (*American Antiquity*, XXVII(1), July, 1961, 7–15). In summarizing Arctic archaeology in the last twenty-five years, the author points out that extensive collections of artifacts had been made prior to 1935 and that three highly developed cultures, Thule, Dorset, and Kachemak Bay, had been recognized. Major progress has been in analysing the relationships between these three cultures and in the tracing of their growth. Three main horizons can be recognized, that of Denbigh of unknown racial association, the Palaeo-Eskimo, and the neo-Eskimo.

—— Eskimo-Archaeological Problems in Greenland (*Acta Arctica*, XII, Copenhagen, 1960, 11–16). This is a useful summary of archaeological sequences and problems in Greenland.

—— Paleo-Eskimo in Disko Bay, West Greenland (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 574–9).

Archaeological work in west Greenland has revealed the existence of two Palaeo-Eskimo cultures, the earliest being Sargag, the later, Dorset; both are earlier than the Thule period.

LAUGHLIN, WILLIAM S. Acquisition of Anatomical Knowledge by Ancient Man (*Social Life of Early Man,* Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, XXXI, 1961, 150–75). As a possible analogy to the anatomical knowledge of early man, the author describes in detail the knowledge of the modern Aleut in regard to human anatomy, together with observations on how this is obtained. He also notes the extensive use of the internal organs of sea-mammals for various purposes.

LAVIOLETTE, FORREST E. *The Struggle for Survival, Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. P. xi, 201. As a scholarly sociologist-historian, the author illustrates his theme of the impact of white culture on the Indians of British Columbia with detailed studies of missionary activity, the potlatch law, the land question, and the formation of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.

LECLERC, JEAN. Denonville et ses captifs Iroquois (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française,* XIV(4), mars 1961, 545–58); *ibid.,* XV(1), juin 1961, 41–58). In 1687, during a period of intense French-Iroquois tension, Denonville captured a number of Iroquois. Though there is some evidence that they had been gathered as representatives of their people and were, therefore, entitled to diplomatic immunity, the capture seems generally to have been accepted at the time as a legitimate act of war. In 1695 Father Jean de Lamberville wrote to a fellow priest in China strongly criticizing Denonville and claiming that the capture was treacherous. The author analyses the arguments and feels that no great weight should be placed on Lamberville's opinion.

LEE, THOMAS E. The Long Sault of the Ottawa Gives Up Its Secrets (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist* (XXXI(2), Aug., 1961, 97–105)). On the basis of extensive archaeological investigations and a study of the river channels, the author believes that the site of Dollard's courageous ambush of the Iroquois in 1660 was on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River, near the foot of the Long Sault rapids. In support of his conclusions, he discusses other suggested locations, and criticizes severely the findings of those who believe Dollard to have made his stand elsewhere.

LEITCH, ADELAIDE. Rock Serpents of the Whiteshell (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LXIII(5), Nov. 1961, 182–3). A note, with photographs, of the effigies of a snake and a turtle outlined in boulders in the Whiteshell Forest Reserve in Manitoba. They are thought to be the work of the ancestors of the Ojibwa.

LESSER, ALEXANDER. Education and the Future of Tribalism in the United States: The Case of the American Indian (*The Social Service Review,* XXXV(2), June, 1961, 1–9). This thoughtful essay summarizes many aspects of Indian adjustments in the United States, which are largely relevant to Canada. In spite of several centuries of close contact with the white man, the Indian has not been assimilated in regard to sentiments, attitudes, and tribal pride, although outwardly he appears to follow the American way of life. In the last decade there has been a significant increase in Indian attendance at universities; this acceptance of higher education may mean a radical change in other aspects of their life.

LEVIN, M. G., and D. A. SERGEEV. K Voprosu o Vremeni Proniknoveniia Zheleza v Arktiku (Contribution to the Problem of the Date of Arrival of Iron in the Arctic) (*Sovetskaia Etnografiia,* No. 3, 1960, 116–22). The authors record the finding of an iron object in an early archaeological site near Bering Strait and discuss the source from which it may have come.

LINNÉ, S. Indian and Eskimo Art in Helsingfors (Helsinki) 1960 (*Ethnos*, XXV(3–4), 1960, 214–24). In 1960 an exhibition of North American art was held in Helsinki, by the co-operation of museums in Stockholm and Helsinki. Among the articles on display were a number of superb northwest coast masks, which are described and illustrated in this article, as well as various Eskimo, Iroquois, and Blackfoot specimens.

LOTHROP, S. K. Early Migrations to Central and South America: An Anthropological Problem in the Light of Other Sciences (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XCI(Part 1), Jan.–June, 1961, 97–123). On the basis of a comprehensive study of archaeological and geological evidence, the author concludes that man, probably of the North American Palaeo-Indian type and culture, reached Central and South America at a period of cold, when it was possible for him to move slowly southwards without experiencing unfamiliar climatic conditions.

LOTZ, J. R. *The Squatters of Whitehorse Yukon Territory.* Ottawa: Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Aug., 1961, p. v, 82. Largely on account of a great increase in population during the war, there has grown up in Whitehorse a large population of squatters, living in substandard houses on public land, or on that of large corporations; 11.8 per cent of the squatters are Indians.

LOUNSBURY, FLOYD. Iroquoian Place Names in the Champlain Valley (*Report of the New York–Vermont Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Region*, State of New York, Legislative Document, IX, 1960, 21–66). Place-names of Iroquoian origin in the Lake Champlain region provide a clue to the areas formerly occupied by different tribes.

———, with comment by MARY R. HAAS. Iroquois-Cherokee Linguistic Relations (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 2 and 3, 1961, 9–23). Though the most obvious distinctive cleavage in the Iroquoian languages is the separation of Cherokee from the northern languages, there appear to be a number of equally ancient isoglosses which divide the Iroquoian stock into two different segments.

LOWIE, ROBERT H. The Oral Literature of the Crow Indians (Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: *Compte-rendu de la Troisième Session, Bruxelles, 1948*, Tervuren, 1960, p. 133. The author recommends collecting versions of the same tale from different raconteurs in order to grasp the "feeling" for literary form in the community.

MCCLELLAN, CATHARINE. Avoidance Between Siblings of the Same Sex in Northwestern North America (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, XVII(2), summer, 1961, 103–23). The occurrence is reported of both sororal and fraternal avoidance among the inland Tlingit and several Athapaskan groups of the Yukon and Alaska. These appear to be the only known examples of this custom among North American Indian tribes.

MCILWRAITH, T. F. Bibliography of Canadian Anthropology for 1959 (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 230–48). This extensive bibliography, with a brief description of each entry, covers the publications of 1959.

MACKAY, J. R., W. H. MATHEWS, and R. S. MACNEISH. Geology of the Engigstciak Archaeological Site, Yukon Territory (Arctic, XIV(1), March, 1961, 25–52). Engigstciak is an important archaeological site in the British Mountains, Yukon Territory, characterized by a sequence of artifact types, extending back to an early period in the lower deposits. In spite of extensive investigations, it has not been possible to correlate the various layers with geological horizons, except to indicate that they are apparently post-glacial. On the other hand, archaeological evidence has thrown light on geological phenomena, including land upheavals under ice and frost pressure.

MACLEAN, JOHN. Blackfoot Medical Priesthood (*Alberta Historical Review,* IX(2), spring, 1961, 1–7). This paper on medicine and religion among the Blackfoot is based on the author's observations between 1880 and 1889. It was presented at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1909 but never printed.

MACNEISH, RICHARD S. Archaeological Projects in Canada 1959 (*Archaeology,* XIII(3), autumn, 1960, 194–201). In 1959 seven archaeological investigations were carried out by staff members of the National Museum, or by other institutions working in collaboration with it. The author describes the projects and problems involved, with brief comments on the results obtained. Apart from the scientific data described, this is a worth-while record of a broad programme of archaeological work involving institutional co-operation.

——— Problems of Circumpolar Archaeology as Seen from Northwest Canada (*Acta Arctica,* XII, Copenhagen, 1960, 17–26). Stratified sites in the Northwest Territories provide a certain amount of definite information on cultural sequence which is, in turn, significant in tracing broader problems of growth throughout the whole Arctic.

MCNICKLE, D'ARCY. Private Intervention (*Human Organization,* XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 208–15). As a contribution to the special number of *Human Organization* devoted to Indian economic problems, the author compares Indian administration in Canada and the United States, with particular reference to the influence of public opinion as shown in pressure groups in each country.

MACPHERSON, A. H., and T. H. MANNING. Pack Dogs in the Canadian Arctic (*The Polar Record,* X(68), May, 1961, 509–12). Dogs were used by the Eskimo at the time of European contact for carrying packs, but the practice is becoming less common. The authors describe, with illustrations, how dogs can be used successfully as draft animals, adapting the old Eskimo trait to modern conditions and needs.

MALLORY, GORDON, and ENID MALLORY. The Peterborough Petroglyphs (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LXII(4), April, 1961, 130–5). With photographs and text, the authors describe extensive Indian rock carvings near Stoney Lake, north of Peterborough, Ontario. Though it is impossible to attribute these to a particular culture, they are extremely important as an example of a distinctive and interesting art style.

MALOUF, CARLING. The Tipi Rings of the High Plains (*American Antiquity,* XXVI(3), part 1, Jan., 1961, 381–9). Individual boulders, arranged at intervals in the form of a circle, occur widely on the Plains. Known locally as "tipi rings," it is probable that this was their function, serving as weights to the skin coverings of tents. Examples of a more complex nature may have had ceremonial significance.

MAXWELL, MOREAU S., and LEWIS H. BINFORD. *Excavation at Fort Michilimackinac, Mackinac City, Michigan, 1959 Season.* (Publication of the Museum, *Cultural Series,* I(1).) East Lansing: Michigan State University. 1961. 132 p. Fort Michilimackinac was begun about 1718, was added to and altered during the next seventy years, and was demolished in 1791. Little was known of its architecture, or even of its precise location, before the detailed archaeological work described in this volume. Although it is in Michigan, Fort Michilimackinac was as much a part of what is now Ontario as of present-day Michigan; hence this publication warrants inclusion in this bibliography.

Mayer-Oakes, William J. The Plains Archaic Concept (*Men and Cultures,* International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 580–7). By a careful analysis of archaeological investigations on the Plains, the author shows the extent of cultural growth and sequence, including the important fact that there are significant resemblances between artifacts from early Plains horizons and those from the "Archaic" culture of the east.

Meeussen, A. E. Tabulation of the Independent Indicative in Algonquian (*Studies in Linguistics,* XV(1–2), 1960, 19–23). A scholarly paper on a grammatical point in the study of Algonkian verbs.

Meighan, Clement W. The Growth of Archaeology in the West Coast and the Great Basin, 1935–60 (*American Antiquity,* XXVII(1), July, 1961, 33–8). In the last twenty-five years there has been a great increase in the actual amount of archaeological work on the Pacific coast of the United States and Canada and, perhaps more significant, a corresponding increase in refinement of technique and interpretation. Studies have been broadened to include demographic trends and food utilization as well as extensive work on population movements.

Meldgaard, Jørgen. *Eskimo Sculpture.* London: Methuen and Company Limited. 1960. 48 p. This is a book for the art-lover as much as for the anthropologist. The author first describes the sequence of prehistoric Eskimo cultures with particular reference to art forms; he then discusses the developments of Eskimo art in historic times. It is illustrated with seventy-five beautiful plates, well chosen and well reproduced. The total effect is an album of works of art of no mean quality.

——— Prehistoric Culture Sequences in the Eastern Arctic as Elucidated by Stratified Sites at Igloolik (*Men and Cultures,* International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 588–95). Archaeological work at Igloolik throws a good deal of light on early Dorset Eskimo traits which suggests influence from a woodland ecology.

Michéa, Jean. Les Chitra-Gottinéké: Groupe Athapascan des Montagnes Rocheuses (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes,* XLVIII, 1959, 197–235). This important paper describes the results of an ethnological study among the Chitra-Gottinéké, or Mountain Indians, a small and little known group of Athapascans who live in the mountains near the Keele River and trade at Fort Norman. Although the present population is only about forty individuals, they have definite "tribal" consciousness and idiosyncratic culture traits, including the manufacture and use of skin canoes. Until this study, this group was one of the least known Canadian Indian bands.

Murdock, George Peter. *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America, 3rd Edition.* (*Behavior Science Bibliographies.*) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files. 1960. P. xxvi, 395. Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* is indispensable to all anthropologists working in the North American field. The second (revised) edition has long been out of print, and the appearance of this third edition is extremely welcome.

(*The*) *Native Voice.* (XV(1–12), Jan.-Dec., 1961, Monthly.) Vancouver: Native Voice Publishing Co., 325 Standard Building. As has been commented upon in former bibliographies, the value of *The Native Voice* to anthropologists rests upon the fact that its news items show what Indians are doing and thinking in 1961. In the fifteen years of the newspaper's life, there has been a steady growth of articles and pictures illustrating the achievements of Indians in various fields and of a broadening of Indian interest in national and economic affairs.

North. (VIII(1–6), Jan.-Feb., Nov.-Dec., 1961, Bi-monthly.) Ottawa: Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Canadian anthropologists should be aware of this attractively printed and illustrated bi-monthly magazine. Most of the articles are short and written for, and often by, staff members of the department, but much of the material is of wider interest. It includes descriptions of life in various parts of the north, extracts from government reports, essays by school children, book reviews, and several original papers by anthropologists, two of which are cited specifically in this bibliography (*see* BALIKCI and OSWALT). The magazine is of permanent value for its contemporary records of changing conditions and activities in the Arctic.

North of Sixty. Ottawa: Welfare Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. [1960.] 49 p. Comprising a number of short articles, letters, and case histories, described in popular style and well illustrated, this pamphlet provides an interesting picture of contemporary social work among the Eskimo and northern Indians.

NYKVIST, GUNNAR. Round the World by Primitive Craft (*Ethnos* XXVI(1–2), 1961, 86–106.) Among the canoes described and illustrated from various parts of the world are several Eskimo *kayaks* and *umiaks*, and a Montagnais birchbark canoe collected in 1883.

OSCHINSKY, LAWRENCE. A Short Note on Upper Lateral Incisor Tooth Crowding Among the Eskimos (*Anthropologica*, III(1), 1961, 90–4). The occurrence of a particular type of crowding of the upper lateral incisors had been noted by the author in an earlier paper; further examples are given here. This peculiarity appears to have been reported only for the Eskimo and the Japanese.

OSWALT, WENDELL H. Caribou Eskimo without Caribou (*The Beaver*, spring, 1961, 12–17.) Owing to decline in numbers of caribou, the interior Eskimo on the western side of Hudson Bay, who depended largely on that animal for food and clothing, have moved to the coast. The government has taken active steps in planning for, and assisting in, this population movement. The author describes some of the factors involved.

——— Eskimo Ingenuity (*North*, VIII(6), Nov.-Dec., 1961, 28–33). The author describes and illustrates a number of ingenious Eskimo inventions, including traps and toys.

——— Guiding Culture Change among Alaskan Eskimos (*America Indigena*, XXI(1), Enero, 1961, 65–83); *ibid.*, XXI(2), Abril, 1961, 151–70). After outlining the history of white-Eskimo contacts in Western Alaska, the author describes some of the administrative measures being undertaken by the government to facilitate cultural adjustment and makes a number of specific suggestions.

PARSONS, LEE A. A Fiji-Iroquois War Club (*Expedition*, IV(1), fall, 1961, 12–13). An interesting case of diffusion is that of a Fiji club carried by an Iroquois and decorated with an eagle feather; it is likely that the club was brought to America by a Fijian appearing at a circus.

PEDERSEN, P. O. Anatomical Studies of the East Greenland Eskimo Dentition (Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques: *Compte-rendu de la Troisième Session, Bruxelles, 1948*, Tervuren, 1960, 177–8. This brief summary of studies of the teeth of East Greenland Eskimo, both of prehistoric and post-contact periods, describes a number of specific dental traits of general Mongol type.

PINNOW, HEINZ-JÜRGEN. Bemerkungen zu den Konsonantenverbindungen im U2-Algonkin (Zeitschrift für Phonetik, XI, 1958, 350–5). The author postulates a modification of Bloomfield's reconstruction of proto-Algonkian clusters.

—— Zwei Probleme der historischen Lautlehre der Na-Dene-Sprachen (*Zeitschrift für Phonetik und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft,* XI(2–3), 1958, 128–59). A technical paper on Athapaskan linguistics.

Pouliot, Adrien. Lueurs guerrières sur le Long-Sault (*La Revue de l'Université Laval* (XV(4), déc. 1960, 321–7); La menace iroquoise, de 1657 à 1660 (*ibid.*, XV(5), jan. 1961, 430–40); Ville-Marie décide l'offensive (*ibid.*, XV(7), mars 1961, 619–31); La thèse de la course aux fourrures (*ibid.*, XV(9), mai 1961, 814–31); À la recherche de l'histoire vraie (*ibid.*, XV(10), juin 1961, 879–93). In this series of historical essays, the author discusses the exploit of Dollard in defending a makeshift fort on the Ottawa against an overwhelming force of Iroquois, giving the background of French-Iroquois relations at the time, and the effects of his courageous defence.

Pratt, Peter P. A Criticism of MacNeish's Iroquois Pottery Types (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXX(3–4), Dec., 1960, 106–10). On the basis of archaeological work and analysis of Oneida pottery, the author questions the validity of MacNeish's typology of Iroquois pottery.

Preserving British Columbia's Prehistory. Victoria: Archaeological Sites Advisory Board. 1961. 12 p. Issued by the government, this little pamphlet explains clearly the regulations and implications of provincial legislation for the protection of antiquities.

(A) Program for Indian Citizens: (A Summary Report) by the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The Fund for the Republic, Inc. 1961. P. v, 45. In 1957 the Fund for the Republic set up a committee to study and report on the current problems of the Indians of the United States with a view to facilitating "their entry into the mainstream of American life." This publication is an abridgment of their report. The findings, and recommendations, are arranged under several headings; viz., Indian Attitudes, Termination of Government Responsibility, Economic Development, Tribal Government, Education, Health, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although limited entirely to the United States, this document is of value to Canadian students since similar problems exist here.

Quimby, George I. Cord Marking Versus Fabric Impressing of Woodland Pottery (*American Antiquity*, XXVI(3), part 1, Jan., 1961, 426–8). A brief note on the similarity in appearance of cord-marked and fabric-impressed pottery, with a description of an experiment in the manufacture of each.

Ray, Dorothy Jean. *Artists of the Tundra and the Sea.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1961. P. xii, 170. Observations on Eskimo art have commonly been included in studies of Eskimo ethnology or archaeology. In this volume, however, the theme is ivory carving by the Alaskan Eskimo; other aspects of their life are included only incidentally. The author describes and illustrates the art of the prehistoric cultures and follows with a careful study of post-contact craftmanship, including techniques, styles, the meaning of art to the artists, and much historical data on the introduction of new concepts. The book is well illustrated and well written.

Rhodes, Willard. The Christian Hymnology of the North American Indians (*Men and Cultures,* International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 324–31). Historically, hymns were translated into various Indian languages from the time of the earliest missionaries. The author describes, with musical notation, some of the hymns used today with a blending of European and native traits.

Rich, E. E. *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870, II, 1763–1870.* London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1959. P. xii, 974, xv. Although this important historical study contains little information of direct anthropological value, it furnishes background material on contact between Indians and fur traders.

Ridley, Frank. *Archaeology of the Neutral Indian.* Islington, Ontario; Etobicoke Historical Society. 1961. 66 p. This volume is based on years of enthusiastic archaeological work. The author has covered the relevant literature, talked to private collectors, studied their material, and excavated a number of sites in the area of the historic Neutrals, between the west end of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. He describes and illustrates the characteristic artifacts, especially pottery, and discusses contacts with neighbouring tribes on the basis of cultural resemblances.

Rigby, G. R., and H. Lambart. A New Site for Dollard at Carillon (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française,* XV(2), sept. 1961, 277–82). By combining historical records with a study of early maps and of the actual geography of the area, evidence is brought forward to show that the site of Dollard's stand against the Iroquois in 1660 was in the area of No. 2 lock of the Carillon Canal, on the north side of the Ottawa River.

Rioux, Marcel. Kinship Recognition and Urbanization in French Canada (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959,* National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 1–11). Increasing urbanization in French Canada is affecting the number of individuals recognized as members of the kin group. In the highly urbanized United States, the number of known kindred has shrunk far more than in Quebec; this is probably due to a greater intensification of city life in the United States, and perhaps to a greater emphasis in Quebec upon the importance of kinship obligations.

Ritchie, William A., with comments by William H. Sears and Douglas S. Byers. Iroquois Archaeology and Settlement Patterns (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 4, 5, and 6, 1961, 25–50). Earlier hypotheses concerning Iroquois prehistory were based to a considerable extent on the acceptance of oral traditions concerning far-reaching migrations. Archaeological investigations have not confirmed these routes, although there is much evidence of migrations over shorter distances. The author reviews and appraises hypotheses regarding the development of Iroquois culture *in situ,* comparing the weight of such evidence in contrast to that of migration theories.

Robert, Fanny. Étude sur des Chaussures Indiennes d'Amérique du Nord (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes,* XLVII, 1958, [1959,] 67–110). The Musée de l'Homme in Paris owns more than seventy pairs of moccasins from various parts of North America. This technological paper gives details of the shapes, materials, methods of manufacture, and embellishments of each, with conclusions regarding probable developments of type, and of cultural interactions between the different areas.

Roe, Frank Gilbert. Buffalo Trails and Fur Posts (*Queen's Quarterly,* LXVII(3), Autumn, 1961, 449–61). In a spirited and interesting essay, the author discredits the theory that the sites of the early trading-posts were chosen at the junction of trails made first by buffalo and later followed by Indians. He shows that the buffalo made few tracks and that the early explorers usually travelled by canoe, mostly because of the complete absence of trails of any kind.

Rothery, Brian. Where the White Man has no Rights (*Queen's Quarterly*, LXVIII(4), winter, 1962, 664–6). A visitor's comment on the occurrence of segregation at Frobisher, Baffin Island, where white people are not allowed to enter the Eskimo village without written permission.

Rouse, Irving. Recent Developments in American Archeology (*Men and Cultures*, International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 64–73). In a scholarly essay, the author defines and describes some of the recent significant advances in New World archaeology.

Rousseau, Jacques. Les premiers Canadiens (*Les Cahiers des Dix*, XXV, 1960, 9–64). Having given an overall picture of the Indians of Canada in two previous papers, the author here describes in some detail the culture of the natives of different areas. Regional specializations are clearly summarized, with particular emphasis on the Algonkians of the northeastern woodlands, including the Naskapi among whom Rousseau has carried out intensive fieldwork. A well-balanced and authoritative compilation of this type is difficult to write but very valuable both to students and to the non-professional reader.

Rousselière, Guy Mary-. *Beyond the High Hills: A Book of Eskimo Poems*. New York: The World Publishing Co. 1961. 32 p. This is probably the first volume of Eskimo poems to be published in English; the translations are sympathetic and appear to be accurate renderings of the "feelings" of the native writers.

Rudenko, S. I., translated by Paul Tolstoy. *The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem*. (Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian sources. I.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for the Arctic Institute of North America. 1961. P. iv, 236. Rudenko is one of the most important Russian scholars, whose conclusions on the origins and early history of Eskimo culture are enhanced by his own extensive archaeological work in the Bering Sea area. This translation makes his work available for the first time in English.

Rue, Leonard Lee. Barrière Indians (*The Beaver*, autumn, 1961, 27–32). The Barrière Indians, commonly called Tête-de-Boule, are living today near the upper Gatineau River, Quebec. This popular article describes and illustrates some of their activities.

Sears, William H. The Study of Social and Religious Systems in North American Archaeology (*Current Anthropology*, II(3), June, 1961, 223–31). The author points out that archaeology no longer is a mere analysis of artifacts but can explain many facets of the social and religious life of the people whose remains are being excavated; he offers a specific list of traits which can be deduced from archaeological results. In conjunction with the comments of a number of individuals to whom this paper was circulated, it provides a stimulating guide to a new concept of archaeology.

Shaw, Thurstan. Early Smoking Pipes: in Africa, Europe, and America (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XC(Part 2), July-Dec., 1960, 272–305). Archaeological investigations in a stratified site in Ghana, dating from the earliest period of European contact, have revealed a number of clay pipe fragments of local manufacture. The nearest prototypes appear to come from the New World; comparison of these, combined with their dates, throws light on the diffusion of tobacco smoking between America and Africa.

Shimony, Annemarie Anrod. *Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve*. (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, LXV.) New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University. 1961. 302 p. This volume is a revision of a doctoral thesis, based on field work on the Six Nations Reserve, near Brantford, Ontario, at intervals between 1953 and 1958. Its theme is the conservative elements of Iroquois life which have persisted among 7,000 Indians after more than 300 years of white contact and in the face of strong acculturating forces. The author describes the present social structure, which embodies much of the traditional Iroquois pattern, and gives a detailed account of the ceremonials, in which conservative elements are more apparent. This is a very important contribution to Iroquois studies.

——— The Iroquois Fortunetellers and Their Conservative Influence (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 20, 1961, 205–11). One of the cultural traits still adhered to by the Iroquois of the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, is an intense concern in personal health, which includes the concepts of mental ease and adjustment. It is believed that there is constant danger to one's health and that the perils are best avoided by following the dictates of fortunetellers.

SISMEY, ERIC D. H'Kusam: A Kwakiutl Village (*The Beaver,* winter, 1961, 24–7). Photographs of the village of H'Kusam, near Sayward, Vancouver Island, depict graphically the changes that have taken place since 1880, when the earliest were taken, a theme developed in this brief article.

SMITH, ALLAN H. An Ethnohistorical Analysis of David Thompson's 1809–1811 Journeys in the Lower Pend Oreille Valley, Northeastern Washington (*Ethnohistory,* VIII(4), fall, 1961, 309–81). This detailed and scholarly paper is part of a comprehensive study of the Kalispel Indians, whose home was largely south of the international border, although extending slightly into what is now British Columbia. This portion of the work deals with the locating of Indian villages and fish-weirs described by Thompson; this information provides precise, factual data on preferences for village sites as well as on ecological factors. This paper is an excellent example of ethnogeographical methodology, quite apart from the anthropological facts gleaned in this manner.

SMITH, DWIGHT L. Provocation and Occurrence of Indian-White Warfare in the Early American Period in the Old Northwest (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXXIII(3), Summer, 1961, 132–47). In a cogent historical essay, the author summarizes conditions on the Old Northwest frontier in the ten years following the end of the American Revolution. Western expansion was impinging on Indian lands, with resultant hostility and bloodshed, leading to uncertain alliance with the British. To anthropologists, this paper is valuable for its summary of tribal feuds and alliances in the Lake Erie area at the close of the eighteenth century.

SMITH, PHILIP E. L. Fluted Points in Paris (*American Antiquity,* XXVI(3, part 1), Jan., 1961, 428–31). Illustrations and descriptions are given of a number of fluted projectile points of Clovis type which are preserved in Paris. Unfortunately their exact provenance is not known.

SNOWDEN, DONALD. Eskimo Commercial Fisheries (*The Polar Record,* X(67), Jan., 1961, 382–4). With government assistance, commercial fishing for char is being developed among the Eskimo of the eastern Arctic. This has required the installation of freezers as well as the organization of a system of marketing.

SNYDERMAN, GEORGE S. The Function of Wampum in Iroquois Religion (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* CV(6), Dec., 1961, 571–608). In explaining the use of wampum in Iroquois rituals, the author has gone far beyond the immediate limits of his subject and has given an extremely scholarly and well-balanced description of Iroquois religion, including the older beliefs as well as the innovations made by Handsome Lake. This is an important contribution to Iroquois studies.

Spencer, Sally K., with the collaboration of Lynne and Ross Crumrine. *American Anthropologist Decennial Index:* 1949–1958. (*American Anthropologist,* LXIII(2, part 2), April, 1961.) The American Anthropological Association. 1961, 107 p. This ten-year index is of material published in the *American Anthropologist* and in the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association for the ten-year period, 1949–58. The entries are arranged by author and by subject.

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur. *Cancer: Disease of Civilization? An Anthropological and Historical Study.* New York: Hill and Wang. 1960. 180 p. The author suggests that cancer among the northern Indians and Eskimo may be due to the introduction of "civilized" food. In support of this hypothesis, he gives much information about aboriginal diet.

——— Food and Food Habits in Alaska and Northern Canada (*Human Nutrition Historic and Scientific,* Iago Galdston, *ed.,* New York Academy of Medicine, Institute of Social and Historical Medicine, New York, International Universities Press, Inc., 1960, 23–60). In vivid style, the author describes the diet of certain Eskimo groups which depend almost exclusively on fish; he supports his thesis of the value of fat meat and fish by describing his own experiments of dependence upon these foods, as well as the deleterious effects of other foods upon the Eskimo.

Steward, Julian H. Carrier Acculturation, The Direct Historical Approach (*Culture in History, Essays in Honour of Paul Radin,* Stanley Diamond, *ed.,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, 732–44). In a careful study of acculturation among the Carrier of British Columbia, the author traces the sequence of changes on a historical basis, showing how wealth from the fur trade led to a temporary increase in the power of village chiefs, a pattern that has occurred in other parts of the world but was here accentuated by the potlatch system.

Stewart, Omer C. Cart-Using Indians of the American Plains (*Men and Cultures,* International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Selected Papers,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, 351–5). About 1815 the Plains Ojibwa of Manitoba developed two-wheeled carts for use in spring and autumn bison hunts. These conveyances were an important factor in their successful cultural adjustment to life on the western plains.

Swannell, Frank C. Lieutenant Palmer Makes a Survey (*The Beaver,* autumn, 1961, 33–8). In 1862, in an effort to find a route from salt water to the goldfields of the Cariboo country, Lieutenant Palmer, R.E., travelled up the Bella Coola River for 57 miles, and thence across the uplands to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser. Four of his letters, which are preserved in the B.C. archives, give an illuminating and unflattering picture of the Bella Coola Indians at the time of the small-pox epidemic. This article is based on extracts from Palmer's correspondence.

Taylor, K. I. The Construction and Use of Kayaks in North-west Greenland: Preliminary Report (*The Polar Record,* X(68), May, 1961, 494–500). As part of a long-range study of the Eskimo of Northwest Greenland, details are given of kayak construction, of the equipment used, and of hunting techniques.

Taylor, William E., Jr. " 'The Eskimos': some Comments" and Reply (*Anthropologica,* III(1), 1961, 85–9). In *Anthropologica,* Taylor reviewed *The Eskimos* by Kaj Birket-Smith in a manner which the author considered to be severely critical, and to which he replied in a brief article, refuting the reviewer on a number of points and adding further data. (*See* entry under Birket-Smith, Kaj in this bibliography). Taylor's reply gives further reasons for the opinion he had previously expressed.

TEICHER, MORTON I. *Windigo Psychosis: A Study of a Relationship between Belief and Behavior among the Indians of Northeastern Canada.* (Proceedings of the 1960 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.) Seattle: American Ethnological Society, University of Washington, 1960. P. xiv, 129. This volume embodies the results of a thorough study of the *windigo* concept among the eastern Algonkians. Basically, the belief is of the existence of a malevolent being which can enter an individual and cause an uncontrolable appetite for human flesh. The author has collected all available versions of the myth, followed by a study of seventy cases of individuals considered to have been afflicted by a *windigo*. These are drawn from police and hospital records. The study is, accordingly, a valuable combination of ethnological and medico-psychiatric analysis.

THIBERT, A. Journal de l'Esquimau Makik, Southampton Island, 1925–1931, II.—1^er^ janvier au 19 août 1926 (*Anthropologica*, III(1), 1961, 95–110). Using syllabic script, Makik, an Eskimo of Southampton Island, kept a diary of personal activities for a period of about six years. This instalment covers eight months of 1926. The entries are terse and, individually, unimportant; taken as a whole, they give much information on daily activities and points of interest.

TRELEASE, ALLEN W. *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: the Seventeenth Century.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1960. P. xviii, 379. The scope of this volume is the contact between both the coastal Algonkians and the Iroquois with the Dutch and the later English colonies. The author has utilized the normal documentary sources of the historian but has supplemented them with modern ethnological literature. The result is an important contribution to scholarship which adds appreciably to our knowledge of Iroquois culture and attitudes in the seventeenth century.

TREMBLAY, MARC-ADÉLARD. Niveaux et dynamismes d'acculturation des Acadiens de Portsmouth (*Anthropologica*, III(2), 1961, 202–51). This important paper comprises the results of one part of the comprehensive Nova Scotia studies initiated by Cornell University. Its theme is the acculturation of Acadians, resident in a predominantly English-speaking urban community. The aspects selected for detailed study are language and religion, these being regarded as yardsticks for cultural change or retention. Sociological techniques are used throughout.

TRIGGER, BRUCE GRAHAM. The Destruction of Huronia: A Study in Economic and Cultural Change, 1609–1650 (*Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute*, No. 68, XXXIII(1), Oct., 1960, 14–45). In a scholarly reappraisal of contemporary documents, the author analyses the causes of the collapse of the Huron nation between 1609 and 1649. He describes events on a year-by-year basis, commenting on the various factors which combined to produce cultural decline.

VAN DEN STEENHOVEN, G. *Leadership and Law Among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District, Northwest Territories.* [The Hague.] n.d. [1961.] P. vii, 155. This important volume gives the results of investigations by a competent anthropologist at three Eskimo settlements on the west side of Hudson Bay between 1955 and 1957. Having sketched important aspects of native culture, the author describes the factors contributing to leadership and, thence, to accepted canons of behaviour. He illustrates these in reference to changing conditions and the white man's law. Unfortunately, neither publisher nor place of publication is printed in the book.

VANSTONE, J.W., and W. H. OSWALT. Three Eskimo Communities (*Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, IX(1), Dec., 1960, 17–56). This is a scholarly description of three modern Eskimo communities in different ecological settings; they are Napaskiak in western Alaska, Point Hope in northern Bering Strait, and Eskimo Point on the west side of Hudson Bay, N.W.T. In each case the authors describe the history, settlement patterns, social and religious structure, and economics of the community. A number of cogent comparisons between the three groups are made, with comments upon the probable reasons for these.

VASTOKAS, RON. The Grand Rapids Portage (*The Beaver*, autumn, 1961, 22–6). The Grand Rapids on the Saskatchewan River, near its outlet into Lake Winnipeg, required a lengthy portage, well-known from early historic times by the accounts of explorers and fur-traders. Archaeological work shows that it was likewise used in prehistoric times by Indians. In this interesting article, the author describes and illustrates some of the events that occurred on this portage; the area will be flooded by a dam for generating electric power.

VOGET, FRED W. American Indians and their Economic Development: Introduction (*Human Organization*, XX(4), winter, 1961–62, 157–8); American Indians and their Economic Development: Commentary (*idem*, 243–8). Voget is the editor of a special issue of *Human Organization* comprising fifteen papers on economic aspects of modern Indian life in different parts of Canada and the United States. This is an important project, well formulated and successfully carried out. In his *Introduction*, Voget summarizes some of the general principles involved in the economic position of the Indians; in his *Commentary* he brings into focus many of the articles on regional or occupational adjustments.

——— Cultural Change and the American Indian (*Journal of Education*, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, Karaikudi, South India, IV(2), Mar., 1961, 8–20). Data for this scholarly study of culture change among the Indians of North America are drawn from three areas, including the Iroquois region and the Northwest Coast. The author deals with the processes of culture change, including effects on personality, rather than employing a chronological or historical approach.

WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C., with comment by WALLACE L. CHAFE. Cultural Composition of the Handsome Lake Religion (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium of Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 14 and 15, 1961, 139–57). After summarizing the "code" propounded by Handsome Lake about 1800, the author describes how, historically, this became a "New Religion," then the cause of animosity between Christians and pagans, and how it is regarded today as "The Old Way." Apart from the factual material presented and analysed, this is a scholarly discussion of the processes of religious growth.

——— Mental Illness, Biology, and Culture (*Psychological Anthropology*, FRANCIS L. K. HSU, *ed.*, Homewood, Illinois, 1961, chapter IX, 255–95). In a scholarly essay on the relationship between culture and mental health, the author describes *pibloktog*, a type of illness occurring among the Eskimo of Greenland.

WALLACE, PAUL A. W. *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1961. P. xiii, 194. This book has been written in response to the popular interest in Pennsylvania in the history of the Indians of the State. It is a model for such a publication. The author describes the culture of each tribal group in a scholarly manner, but in simple language, and follows this with a lucid account of the wars, rivalries, and dislocations of the colonial period. Since descendants of the Delaware, a Pennsylvania tribe, have lived in Canada for nearly 200 years, this volume, in which their aboriginal culture is described, is properly included in a Canadian bibliography. Unfortunately, there is no comparable volume for any Canadian province.

WALLIS, WILSON D. Historical Background of the Micmac Indians of Canada (*Contributions to Anthropology, 1959*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173, Ottawa, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961, 42–63). In this interesting historical paper, the author summarizes early contacts between the Micmac and Europeans, especially the French. He gives copious quotations illustrating culture and personality traits as described in writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

WEDEL, WALDO R. Plains Archaeology, 1935–60 (*American Antiquity*, XXVII(1), July, 1961, 24–32). The most significant development in archaeological work on the Plains in the last twenty-five years has been large-scale scientific investigations, financed in part by river-valley salvage operations. Concurrent analytical studies have resulted in refinements of classification of artifacts and in the recognition of cultural changes and cultural sequences.

WELLS, ROBIN F. Plains Indian Political Structure: A Comparative Study (*The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, XXIV, spring, 1961, 1–16). Among the Plains Indians, political organization at the band or tribe level was strong enough to counterbalance the disruptive internal forces of the men's societies.

WETTLAUFER, BOYD, *compiler*, and WILLIAM J. MAYER-OAKES, *ed. The Long Creek Site.* (Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series No. 2.) Regina: Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. 1960. P. viii, 137. This is a scholarly report of the excavation of an important archaeological site near Estevan, Saskatchewan. From the super-position of cultural layers, it is clear that it was occupied repeatedly, perhaps over several thousand years. Mayer-Oakes discusses the cultural affiliations, particularly of the earlier aspects, and Wettlaufer postulates possible linkages between upper strata and historical tribes.

WHITE, MARIAN E. *Iroquois Culture History in the Niagara Frontier Area of New York State.* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Anthropological Papers,* XVI.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 1961. P. viii, 155. The author has studied the material from seven Iroquois sites near Buffalo, in respect both to resemblances between specimens, and by statistical evaluation of the data. This has led to a clear recognition of the sequence in which the sites were occupied; comparisons have been made to indicate the probable correlation of each to locations elsewhere, especially in Ontario. This scholarly paper is a contribution to archaeological theory, as well as to local pre-history.

WILLETT, FRANK. A Set of Gambling Pegs from the North-west Coast of America (*Man*, LXI, Jan., 1961, 8–10). A brief description of a set of gambling sticks from British Columbia with line-drawings of their totemic designs.

WILLEY, GORDON R. New World Prehistory (Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report* for the year ended June 30, 1960, Washington, 1961, 551–75). In this broad, scholarly article, the author points out some basic conclusions in regard to early man in the New World and especially to cultural and ecological factors.

WITTHOFT, JOHN, with comment by JOHN M. GOGGIN. Eastern Woodlands Community Typology and Acculturation (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture:* 9 and 10, 1961, 67–81). Due to culture contact, there developed in the eastern woodlands a number of "patterns" of Indian life, varying according both to the aboriginal culture and to the type of European settlement. These offer opportunities for significant research in acculturation, particularly between remnant groups of Indians, and those essentially gathered on a reservation.

WOODBURY, RICHARD B., *ed. Abstracts of New World Archaeology: Volume I.* Washington: Society for American Archaeology. 1961. 127 p. The aim of this new publication is to list all published materials and theses on New World archaeology. The entries are arranged on a geographical basis.

Woolworth, Alan R. In Search of the Past on the Voyageur's Highway (*The Beaver*, spring, 1961, 26–9). Eighteen metal kettles were found on the river bottom at Horsetail Rapids, on the canoe route from Grant Portage to Rainy Lake. They were probably French trade goods, lost towards the end of the eighteenth century.

DEPENDENCY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN CHIPEWYAN STORIES[1]

By Ronald Cohen* and James W. VanStone**

RÉSUMÉ

La documentation ayant trait à la culture et à la personnalité des populations de la région boisée sub-arctique de l'Amérique du Nord laisse présumer la présence des tendances motivationnelles suivantes:

1. Il y a des manifestations d'indépendance en fait de moyens de subsistance, ainsi que des motivations de dépendance.
2. Caractéristiques durables, l'indépendance et la dépendance matérielles persistent au cours de la période de contact.
3. La période de contact, surtout depuis l'application de mesures de bien-être par le gouvernement, tend à stimuler les motivations de dépendance aux dépens des désirs d'indépendance matérielle.

Les auteurs du présent mémoire ont commencé par examiner si l'indépendance matérielle et les motivations de dépendance se manifestaient clairement dans le répertoire folklorique des Indiens chipewyans du Canada septentrional au commencement du XX^e siècle. C'est qu'ils croyaient que la confirmation de cette hypothèse ferait hésiter certains administrateurs du gouvernement selon lesquels les programmes de bien-être des États modernes provoquent un esprit de dépendance et portent atteinte aux motivations traditionnelles d'indépendance matérielle. On a d'abord fait une analyse de ce que contient le folklore des Chipewyans. Par la suite, on a ajouté deux groupes de données, l'un provenant d'enfants contemporains de Chipewyans et l'autre, pour fins de comparaison, des *Contes* de Grimm. A l'ensemble des données, on a ajouté deux autres variétés d'analyse de contenu.

Les conclusions montrent que l'indépendance matérielle et les motivations de dépendance se manifestent à divers degrés dans l'ensemble de la documentation étudiée, quels que soient ses rapports culturels ou temporels. Il est aussi évident que, dans le cas de la documentation provenant des Chipewyans, on constate une forte hausse de la proportion des motivations de dépendance par rapport à celles d'indépendance matérielle. Dans les contes des Chipewyans du début du XX^e siècle, la proportion des motivations de dépendance est soit égale à celle des motivations d'indépendance matérielle soit légèrement supérieure, alors que dans les contes d'enfants contemporains, les motivations de dépendance sont au moins le double

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[1] A shorter version of this paper was read at the second annual Northeastern Anthropological Conference in Toronto, April 14, 1962.

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de celles d'indépendance matérielle. Bien que d'autres éléments puissent entrer en ligne de compte, la présente étude fait grandement ressortir que la période de contact, quelles qu'en soient les raisons, a tendance à accroître la proportion des motivations de dépendance.

INTRODUCTION

Recent studies of subarctic woodland peoples of North America have indicated that there is a common set of value orientations in these societies which operates in such a way that representatives of these cultures are confronted with traditional stimuli to be both self-sufficient and dependent. Although Hallowell stresses self-sufficiency and individualism among the Ojibwa, he also points out that there is much anxiety over the maintenance of this desired trait. Although Ojibwa men are forced to seek (traditionally) success by personal initiative, they must also use rules, taboos, and supernatural powers; disturbing or not obeying these rules brings personal misfortune (1955: 147, 182). This can be interpreted to mean that the Ojibwa are, to some extent, dependent upon powers outside themselves for their success as individuals. Hallowell has also cited evidence from Caudill's work to show that the personality characteristics manifested by projective materials of acculturated individuals indicate that there is "an Ojibwa personality constellation, aboriginal in origin, that is clearly discernible through all levels of acculturation yet studied" (in Cohen, 1961: 428).

Barnouw describes Wisconsin Chippewa culture and personality as being characteristically atomistic and individualistic, and as having in it a strong stress on self-sufficiency. On the other hand, he also documents inherent cultural and, inferentially, personality traits in the same society that manifest dependency strivings. These latter, he suggests, have been deepened and intensified by the reservation system (1950: 15–18, 23–25, 47, 53, 75).

Spindler, working on a broader and more carefully defined spectrum of acculturation types, has found characteristics rather similar to those discussed by Hallowell. Thus he finds the tradition-oriented Menomini to manifest "social independence and self-reliance." He also makes the point that the same individuals obtain self-sufficiency and personal power "from an external source that he controls only in the degree that he may lose it by failing to carry out the supernaturally prescribed observances . . . ." Thus, says Spindler, the person is placed in a "passively acceptant" rather than an "active manipulatory" relationship to life. In commenting on time depth, Spindler, like Barnouw and Hallowell, feels that these traits have persisted for a long time (in Cohen, 1961: 437–8).

More recently, Parker has pointed out that the traditionally severe independence training of Ojibwa children lays the groundwork for dependency cravings. In a footnote, he suggests that government welfare and the disappearance of many valued male activities, such as warfare, make it no longer necessary to suppress dependency strivings. Indeed, he says, these may even be an asset in the reservation system (1960: 606, 622).

Farther away in the northwest corner of the subarctic boreal belt, Honigmann has posited six major themes in Kaska motivations. Three of these—emotional isolation, egocentricity, and utilitarianism, as he defines them—reflect drives or motives which, if adhered to, would create a state of strong independency or self-sufficiency for the individual. On the other hand, two of them, dependency and deference, tend to act in the opposite direction, while one, flexibility, seems to give the individual the opportunity to be both independent and dependent in his response to life. Using a somewhat similar analysis to that used by Parker, Honigmann traces the origins of dependency and independency to the early and progressively more intensive rejection of the child by his parents (1949: 249-305). Although no statements are made on the subject, it is logical to argue that both Honigmann and Parker would predict stability of motivational syndromes to vary positively with the persistence of child-training techniques. Spindler, on the other hand, specifically notes that adult experiences do much to maintain or change psychological characteristics (in Cohen, 1961: 430).

In summary, a number of writers have noted the presence of a syndrome of self-assertiveness, individualism, and stress on personal achievement which co-exists either with a syndrome of anxiety about the possibility of its achievement (Hallowell; Spindler) or dependency motivations, or both (Honigmann; Barnouw; Parker). Most writers comment on the durability of such features, although they vary somewhat in their attempts to explain the etiology of these phenomena.

The problem can now be stated more succinctly. Assuming that one is dealing here with a widespread characteristic of subarctic peoples in Canada, several theoretical and practical problems emerge from this brief survey of the literature.[1] Theoretically, one is led to ask whether self-sufficiency and dependency are, in fact, present in the same culture, and how strong they are in relation to one another. Again, are these factors as persistent as some writers have claimed, and if all this is so, what is the most plausible explanation? Practically, it would be useful to those who have to plan policy and carry it out in this area if it were known whether the contact situation, especially the recent years of government welfare programmes, has caused the emergence of dependency, as some administrators suggest; or whether the recent contact period has simply stimulated tendencies already strongly embedded in the culture; or indeed, whether the recent period has affected these hypothetical characteristics at all.

More specifically, it is possible to state the problem in the form of hypotheses for investigation. The literature on culture and personality for the subarctic woodland area of North America suggests that the following motivational trends are present:

1) There are manifestations of self-sufficiency as well as dependency motivations.

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[1] Spicer (1961: 2) has pointed out that "there are fewer than a half dozen, perhaps no more than three or four ways of life, that is to say distinctive cultures, in all the reservations of the United States and Canada."

2) Self-sufficiency and dependency are durable features which persist throughout the contact period.
3) The contact period, especially that part which includes government welfare programmes, tends to stimulate the dependency motivations at the expense of desires for self-sufficiency.

METHODS AND RESULTS

The foregoing introduction to the problem and the formulation of the hypothesis for testing give a somewhat over-simplified and over-sophisticated impression of the present study. The authors started out to test whether or not self-sufficiency and dependency motivations were manifest in early twentieth century folklore material from the Chipewyan Indians of northern Canada. We felt that demonstration of this contention would give pause to those government administrators who theorize that modern government welfare programmes "cause" dependency and impair traditional motivations for self-sufficiency. That is to say, it was hoped that an analysis of folklore material would give an insight into values and motivations. The method is thus basically a content analysis of fantasy material.

The careful reader will immediately see that we have made some assumptions about the relationship between fantasy, or folklore, on the one hand, and behaviour on the other. In this regard the folklore literature is not especially helpful. Folklorists often seem blithely unaware that folklore may conceivably have a varying relationship to behaviour, which could theoretically range from inverse through zero to a positive or direct relationship. For example, in a rapidly changing society in which the younger generation is rejecting many of the values of the older members, the moral exhortations manifested in the telling of folk tales might help to stimulate rejection and reverse behaviour on the part of the younger generation members when they hear the tales from older people. On the other hand, one anthropologist, Opler, has emphasized "the high correlation of the details of Jicarilla mythology with the actual conduct of the bearers of the culture and the forces which maintain it . . ." (1938: xi). In psychology there are a few studies (Atkinson, 1958: Chap. 2, 3, 4, 8–10) directed toward the members of North American society (mostly college students) which indicate that for those tested the production of fantasy material varies directly and significantly with experimentally induced differences in motivation. Thus, increases in a desire to affiliate or to achieve were manifested and measured in the stories told by the subjects in the experiments. However, these experiments were carried out under very specially controlled conditions. Nevertheless, we feel that given the suspicion with which all content analysis of fantasy material must be viewed in their relation to behaviour, it is still possible to make a methodological assumption concerning this material and its relationships that is not far-fetched, albeit not established fact. We therefore assume that folklore material and stories told by informants accurately reflect culturally derived values and motivations held by these persons, which in turn positively reflect their behaviour.

Working under this assumption, the authors first applied a simple content analysis (Method I) to early Chipewyan folklore. Later we added two more bodies of data, one from Chipewyan children, gathered during the summer of 1961 by the junior author, and another from Grimm's fairy tales. Two further varieties of content analysis (Methods II and III) were applied to the entire body of data.

It should be noted that we make no assumptions about, nor do we differentiate between, overt and covert motivational components. For present purposes it is sufficient to assume the above relationship, even though there may be interesting relations between the overt conscious level of motivation and the covert conscious one as represented in the folklore material. Instead we have decided to use whatever motivational components our analysis turns up and to relate these to the hypotheses under investigation.

METHOD I

A sample of early twentieth century Chipewyan folklore material was taken from the published tales collected by Birket-Smith, Goddard, and Lowie (Birket-Smith, 1930; Goddard, 1912; Lowie, 1912). The authors read over all the material collected by these writers and set up a series of categories. The tales were then sorted out into these categories and tabulated as well on the basis of length, regardless of who collected them. This resulted in Table 1, given below.

TABLE 1. *Classification of Chipewyan folk tales*

Type of Story	No. of Stories	No. of Words per Story
Flood story	5	1600; 250; 590; 320; 210
Origin story	10	500; 184; 590; 412; 140; 100; 320; 150; 240; 184
Giant story	6	1700; 1300; 1820; 57; 450; 430
Culture hero story	11	410; 250; 710; 210; 490; 85; 100; 1430; 200; 440; 110
Chipewyan-Cree interaction	6	950; 740; 400; 650; 400; 300
Animal stories:		
a. no people	2	200; 34
b. with people	9	500; 360; 200; 126; 100; 85; 80; 43; 32
Hunting story	2	430; 50
Unclassified	1	85

Two stories from each category, except the unclassified one, were chosen, for the most part on the basis of length, the longest being considered the most suitable. This rule was not adhered to if the two longest stories were the same—but collected by different field workers—in which case the longest of the two similar ones was chosen, and then the next longest story having a different plot was selected for study. This resulted in sixteen stories, the contents of which were then divided into semantic units involving a simple action by an ego or an alter (human, animal, or supernatural). Ego and alter refer to selected personnel in each plot or sub-plot of each tale. The writers decided on a central person in each plot and dubbed this person "ego," all other personnel then becoming "alters" for the duration of the plot. This division of the stories gave us a total of 927 actions, which we then scored with the help of the schedule given in Appendix I. No attempt was made to make the content categories totally exclusive, although opposite actions were not scored for both an ego and an alter. Thus an action might be scored for ego "adapting" and being "harmful," but this would not mean that the alter involved would be scored for nonadapting and being harmed. The authors had to decide in each case whether the action was dominantly referring to ego or to alter. To illustrate Method I, a story, which has been divided into semantic units and scored according to the schedule is also given in Appendix I.

RESULTS OF METHOD I

Of the persons mentioned in the sample of tales, 31 per cent (N=790) are performing some action in isolation, and 69 per cent are interacting with some alter; 48 per cent are the same sex as ego, 37 per cent are the opposite sex, and 15 per cent have no sex specified. Of the alters, 35 per cent are people, 37 per cent are animals, 20 per cent are supernatural beings, and 8 per cent are not easily classified as any of the foregoing.

As an operational definition, we have decided to declare self-sufficiency present if a subject in the story makes any kind of effective or assertive move. Dependency is declared present if effective action is directed at the subject over which he has little or no control.

Dependency and Self-Sufficiency in the Action of Early Twentieth Century Chipewyan Tales

Self-Sufficiency

Ego or alter:

is harmful, aggressive or hostile	72
helps	28
stops something from happening	13
commands	22
captures	6
adapts	156
tricks	27
puts someone (or something) in danger	11
hunts successfully	24

Self-Sufficiency—Concluded

	No.
Ego or alter—*Concluded:*	
encourages something to happen	45
discourages something from happening	5
hunts	40
asks or is asked a question	12
Total	461

Dependency

Ego or alter:	
is harmed, aggressed against, etc.	72
stopped from doing something	13
ordered to do something	26
captured, subdued	14
helped	89
tricked	15
in danger	62
not adapting	24
not hunting successfully	8
is encouraged by someone (or thing)	20
discouraged by someone (or thing)	8
submits or defers	28
Total	379
Unscored actions	87
TOTAL ACTIONS	927

The above results can be seen more clearly when summarized in the table below, which gives the sub-totals as percentages of the total number of actions. It is easily seen that dependency and self-sufficiency, as defined operationally, are both very much a part of the folklore material, and there seems to be little difference between the two features, except that self-sufficiency is slightly more common.

There are several difficulties with the above method that should be noted. First of all, it is quite a long tedious analysis requiring a large number of qualitative judgments. This increases the probability of error. Secondly, it is the nature of literary material that constituent actions within a plot move back and forth from subject to object, so that any ego is always acting and reacting. Thus it may be that we are measuring self-sufficiency and dependency as functions of the structure of action within literary plots rather than as a function of Chipewyan culture. This is an important point and will be discussed in more detail later.

TABLE 2. *Self-sufficiency and dependency content in early twentieth century Chipewyan tales*

Self-Sufficiency	Dependency
50.6%	40.9%

Unscored – 9.4%

METHOD II

After discussing the matter with Dr. Margaret Lantis, we decided to analyse the stories somewhat differently.[1] Dr. Lantis feels that folklore material can be isolated into themes with value implications by abstracting meanings from the consequences of plots and sub-plots in the stories. At the same time we also decided, again on the advice of Dr. Lantis, to make the material more comparative. Accordingly, we chose *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (Hunt, 1944) as a basic and traditional representative of European folklore material and selected therefrom a random sample of sixteen tales for analysis. The junior author was able to collect eleven stories from Chipewyan children at Snowdrift, Northwest Territories, during the summer of 1961; these were used as well.[2]

It should be noted that Method II involved the assumption that a plot or sub-plot in fantasy material has a metaphorical meaning as a whole, and that people who read or hear this material can agree on the statement of this meaning. The authors have found this to be the case. Each story was read and discussed in terms of the plot or plots. In many cases, a number of separate sub-stories re-tell the same plot theme within the one tale, so that the entire tale may be reduced to one or two simple statements. For example, in one of the hero-stories the central figure succeeds in overpowering his enemies, the ordinary people who inveigh against him time and time again; they are afraid of him and attack him, and he in turn must use his extraordinary powers to overcome them. For this story we have extracted a theme about heroes—there is always some hostility between a hero and his people because his power makes him a fearful person. The following is a listing of the themes in the three groups of stories.

Early Twentieth Century Chipewyan Stories

1. *How the Caribou Came Back to Man* (Birket-Smith)

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[1] The authors wish to express their appreciation to Dr. Lantis for her helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

[2] These stories were collected while the junior author was carrying out field-work under the sponsorship of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the Canadian Government. At his request, Mrs. M. Lynch, federal school teacher at Snowdrift, asked each child in grades three to eight to compose a story on an imaginary subject. The children were given unlimited time and complete freedom as to subject matter. A prize offered by the junior author for the best story encouraged the children to do their best. Ten of the children were between ten and thirteen years of age; all were in grades three to six. One child was seventeen and was in grade eight.

   - *a*. Man and animals have a partnership governed by rules upon which the partnership depends for its maintenance. If the rules are broken, the consequences are unfortunate, especially for man.
   - *b*. The sexual division of labour in hunting is an important rule which should not be tampered with under pain of punishment by the animals themselves.
   - *c*. It requires a man with exceptional supernatural power to restore the partnership of man and nature once this equilibrium has been upset.

2. *How Lot Killed the Ducks* (Goddard)
   - *a*. If a man knows the environment and is able to manipulate it satisfactorily, he will gain control over the animals.
   - *b*. Some men are better at this than others.

3. *The Sun and the White Fronted Goose* (Birket-Smith)
   - *a*. Man can upset the role of nature by his activities, but animals are capable of helping man to restore this order.

4. *The Bear and the Man* (Lowie)
   - *a*. The bear helps man, but there is an essential dichotomy between man and animals because man must always hunt and kill the animals.
   - *b*. If this dichotomy is forgotten, man suffers because animals must be hunted and killed.
   - *c*. However, man and animals are in partnership, and there are rules that govern this relationship.

5. *The Woodpecker and the Jay* (Birket-Smith)
   - *a*. One should marry one's own kind.

6. *The Discovery of Metal by a Captive Woman* (Goddard)
   - *a*. The Indian, even a female Indian, can get along in this northern environment.
   - *b*. The White Man needs the Indian in order to get what he wants from the north.

7. *Crow Head* (Lowie)
   - *a*. There is always some hostility between a hero and his people because his power makes him a fearful person.
   - *b*. If he tries to over-use his power for evil purposes, the hero can easily fall victim to his own misuse of the power. (There may be a connotation here that the hero *deserves* the hostility of his people because, being human, he often tends to misuse his power.)

8. *A Man-Eating Monster* (Goddard)
    - *a.* Man is capable of solving the problems he is faced with in life, but there are always new ones to cope with when these are gone.

9. *Another War with the Cree* (Birket-Smith)
    - *a.* Chipewyan are superior to other Indians.

10. *The Man in the Moon* (Birket-Smith)
    - *a.* Husbands and wives have to live up to their agreements with one another.
    - *b.* If they do not, then bad things can happen.

11. *The Flood* (Birket-Smith)
    - *a.* Only by co-operation can we overcome the vicissitudes and dangers of the environment.
    - *b.* Each must contribute his particular skill for the good of all in this joint effort.

12. *Adventure of Two Boys* (Lowie)
    - *a.* Conflict of personalities results in trouble for actors in such situations.
    - *b.* Breaking rules can lead to unfortunate and/or unforeseen results.
    - *c.* Man alone is powerless against the environment without the help of the supernatural.
    - *d.* Man is both helped and harmed by animals.
    - *e.* Men and women vie with one another for control over each other, with bad consequences when such competition is going on.
    - *f.* Men and women can also co-operate, and this leads to happy, good, and successful results.

13. *Spread-Wings* (Lowie)
    - *a.* The culture hero is superior to ordinary man.
    - *b.* However, he really is human like the rest of us, and, like us, he is dependent upon his wife for cooked food, comfort, sex, and the bearing of children.
    - *c.* Man and animals are brothers, but men are different; i.e., there is a dichotomy because man must hunt, and this involves a kind of fratricide.
    - *d.* Man is guilty and disturbed by the exigencies of life which force him to kill animals who are his brothers.

14. *Ebadahotihe* (Goddard)
    - *a.* Chipewyan and Cree people can co-operate, but the Chipewyan are superior in dealing with problems.

- *b.* Nevertheless, basically Chipewyan and Cree are enemies, and if this fact is ignored, trouble ensues for all concerned. (This hearkens back to the oft-repeated theme that natural hostilities, whether they be between men or between men and animals, cannot be changed without peril.)

15. *The Flood* (Birket-Smith)
    - *a.* Open hostility and aggression within a group bring danger and trouble to everyone.
    - *b.* Co-operation, on the other hand, can be utilized to aid or help a group in trouble.
    - *c.* Everyone should pitch in and help the group no matter how well or poorly he contributes to the common goals.

16. *The Two Brothers Who Visited the Land of the Giants* (Birket-Smith)
    - *a.* Unforeseen things happen when rules are broken.
    - *b.* Man needs help from the supernatural to cope with his environment.
    - *c.* There is a man-animal dichotomy and partnership, but man must still shoot the animals even though they are his brothers.
    - *d.* Sexual relations between a man and a woman do not create a husband-wife relationship.
    - *e.* On the other hand, the performance of husband and wife subsistence roles in co-operative husband-wife relationship does make for a successful marriage. This is a rule, and there will be trouble in the economy of the marriage unit if it is not adhered to.

Stories from Chipewyan Children, 1961[1]

1. *The Story about an Elf and a Boy*
    - *a.* Doing a favour for someone else should be its own reward.
    - *b.* People who try to get something in return for doing a favour may suffer for it.

2. *Story of a Grandmother*
    - *a.* There is a strong emotional bond between a grandmother and a grandson, but life goes on, and grandmothers are old and must normally die before their grandsons, who then have to carry on without their grandmothers.

3. *A Story of a Marriage*
    - *a.* Love and good looks are a proper basis for marriage.

4. *Cheelee*
    - *a.* Love based on personal appearance cannot conquer all circumstances, but it can serve as the basis for deep commitments and reciprocal obligations between a man and a woman.

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[1] The complete text of one children's story (No. 4) will be found in Appendix II.

5. *A Story About Bushy Squirrel*
    - *a.* You should be careful to watch for trouble from enemies.
    - *b.* Your own kind of person (tribe?) is the best and most trustworthy to associate with.
6. *The Sea Girl*
    - *a.* People cherish their own possessions and property and are unhappy if parted from these.
    - *b.* Personal attractiveness is important to success.
7. *A Story About an Old Man:* No theme.
8. *A Kiss on the Nose*
    - *a.* People who do not ask often receive.
    - *b.* Personal attractiveness is desirable.
9. *A Story of a Little Girl, Mary*
    - *a.* Love based on personal appearance is proper basis for marriage.
10. *How I Saved Someone*
    - *a.* Bravery and individual heroic action are valuable and recognized virtues.
11. *A Story About Rose*
    - *a.* Fathers and daughters love one another.
    - *b.* Fathers care for and look after their daughters.

A Sample of Grimm's Fairy Tales (Hunt 1944. Numbers are those used in the table of Contents.)

10. It is not smart or profitable to trust people.

20. *a.* Brain is better than brawn in helping one to succeed in the world.
    - *b.* If this rule is followed, one's background is not necessarily a detriment to success.

31. *a.* There is evil in the world but a pure, good person overcomes all adversity.
    - *b.* Love triumphs over evil.
    - *c.* God helps the good person.

40. *a.* Evil is present in the world in the form of persons, even husbands-to-be, who have been chosen by one's elders, rather than by one's self.
    - *b.* Ordinary people who are good and careful can overcome the evil of others.
    - *c.* But it is always better not to trust strangers.

50. *a.* Evil is present in the world, but the good and pure can be helped to overcome evil just by the fact of their goodness.
    - *b.* One can bring about evil consequences by sins of omission as well as commission.

60. *a.* Evil and treachery are no match for goodness and perseverance.
    b. The good, however, must be wary, for trust requires proof before being offered to anyone.
70. *a.* You should keep a sharp eye out, for ordinary things can be turned to your advantage.
    b. People who are frightened of things they do not understand may act hastily and unwisely, to their own disadvantage.
80. Over-elaboration of details hampers the achievement of goals.
90. *c.* A man born with a handicap can often triumph over it even though others try to hinder him, do not believe in him, or break faith with him.
    b. You must stand by agreements even when the results are unpleasant.
100. Even the lowly and poor should not be scorned because sometimes they may rise and have power over you.
110. A lowly person, possessed of charity and goodness, triumphs over all evils.
120. *a.* One is rewarded for living up to agreements.
    b. Evil acts are always punished.
130. The down-trodden good person is helped to triumph over the evil of her superiors and repays evil treatment with kindness.
140. The down-trodden overcome evil inflicted on them by ignoble superiors.
150. You should always help weak people in distress.
160. If you want to succeed over adversity, you must be prepared to use your wits.

In scoring these themes quantitatively, we have used the operational definition put forward previously for the measurement of self-sufficiency to each theme in which an actor in the theme is enjoined to, or described as, making any kind of effective or assertive move. We have given a score of one for dependency to each theme in which action is directed at a subject over which he has little or no control. The results are presented in the following table.

TABLE 3. *Self-sufficiency and dependency in themes of Chipewyan and European stories*

Type of Story	No. of Scored Themes	Self-Sufficiency	Dependency
Early 20th century Chipewyan	39	13	26
Contemporary Chipewyan	11	3	8
Grimm's Fairy Tales	30	20	10

NOTE: Early twentieth century Chipewyan and Grimm's tales are significantly different at the .02 level.

Qualitatively, it should be noted that all the collections of stories indicate the presence of self-sufficiency and dependency although, as shown in Table 3, Chipewyan stories have more dependency and Grimm's have more self-sufficiency thema. In the early twentieth century Chipewyan tales, the thema seems to refer over and over again to man's place in a harmonious natural environment, albeit a harmony governed by strict rules that must be obeyed or else unfortunate consequences will follow. Qualifying this generic theme are references to particular rules and what happens to people when these are broken. Probably the most common of these is a reiterated statement concerning man's friendly, kin-like relationship to animals, which, by tradition, he is forced to kill. Although it is difficult to see guilt in this ambivalent situation, as Lantis has suggested in her analysis of Eskimo folklore, there is certainly anxiety over this forced hostility (1953: 136–8). The contemporary Chipewyan children's stories have a quantitatively low score, probably because of their brevity (Child, *et al.*, 1958: 482), but it should be noted that *the proportion* of self-sufficiency to dependency has remained roughly constant after a half-century of culture change.

In terms of content, the children's stories are quite different. Gone are the culture heroes and the boys who travel up to the sky, and the flood stories. In their place are princes and princesses, many of whom are concerned with love, usually at first sight (*see* Appendix II). The basis of this love is personal appearance. One of the girls is described as having beautiful golden hair and blue eyes. This is in direct contrast to the traditional content in which personal appearance is hardly ever mentioned and in which the basis of success in marriage is not sexual relations but the proper working out of the economic division of labour. The Chipewyan children's tales have a "fatalistic" quality in that individuals rarely do anything actively to better their chances of success. In most cases, the principal characters are attractive as a given element in the plot, and this accident over which they have no control leads to a happy outcome. One exception to this is a boy who is rewarded for bravery and individual initiative, and there is an animal story that seems to reflect the ethnocentrism of traditional thema.

In the Grimm's tales, goodness and virtue are usually rewarded, often by the achievement of upward social mobility. Using ingenuity to overcome one's enemies is also strongly suggested, as is a basic mistrust of strangers and even close relatives in some cases. Hunt claims that the stories are primarily concerned with subjection, "the subjection of the hero or heroine, and this has to be made striking or pathetic; with wisdom from within or without that provides release, and this has to be transcendent, with compensation that means a return to human life that is greatly enhanced" (1944: ix).

METHOD III

In Method III the authors attempted to uncover certain basic motivations expressed in the stories, and then to relate these to self-sufficiency and dependency through the use of our operational definitions. The stories were read over by both authors, then discussed and scored in terms of need-achievement, need-affiliation, and need for power, as explained in the scoring manuals given in Atkinson (1958). The writers found that working as a team they overlooked less, and each acted as a check on the other when qualitative judgments were made for scoring purposes. The criteria used for judging motivational components and their application to a specific story are given in Appendix III.

In our reading of the tales, especially the Grimm's, we found that there were occasions when a need for non-affiliation was expressed. It was reasoned that need for non-affiliation is not simply a lack of need to affiliate, but rather a positive motivation in the opposite direction to that of affiliation. Since this could be a useful indicator of self-sufficiency and individualism, we have constructed a content category for negative need-affiliation. This involves a simple inversion of the standard need-affiliation scoring given in Atkinson (1958: 205 ff.). Thus negative need-affiliation is scored when the story contains evidence of concern in one or more characters over *not* establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive effective relationship with another person. The scores are based on an absolute measure developed in the scoring manuals. The highest possible score for each motivational category is given in parenthesis beside the motivation being scored in Table 4.

TABLE 4. *Motivational analysis of Chipewyan and Grimm's stories*

Motivation	*Grimm's Fairy Tales*	Early 20th Century Chipewyan	Contemporary Chipewyan Children
Need-achievement (11)	7.9	5.6	2.0
Need for power (10)	4.3	1.8	1.2
Need-affiliation (7)	3.8	3.3	2.4
Negative need-affiliation (7)	3.3	1.7	0.8

The low scores taken from the stories of contemporary Chipewyan children are probably due to their brevity and to the fact that there are fewer of them than in the other groups (Child, *et al.*, 1958: 482). Contrasting early twentieth century Chipewyan stories with Grimm's fairy tales, it can be seen that they have a similar amount of affiliative imagery. Both also manifest need-achievement, although Grimm's is significantly higher (P = .001). The most striking difference occurs in power imagery and negative need-affiliation. Chipewyan tales seem to lack almost any reference to power over others, or a desire not to affiliate with others, while both of these motivations are constantly expressed in the Grimm's tales.

An interesting correspondence emerges if we graph a profile of the scores given in Table 3. This is shown below in Figure 1. It can be seen immediately that there is a persistence in the relationship of the scores to one another when early twentieth century Chipewyan tales are compared with the stories from Chipewyan children recorded in 1961, whereas the Grimm's tales seem to have higher scores at all points. If this last statement is taken at its face value, this means that the Grimm

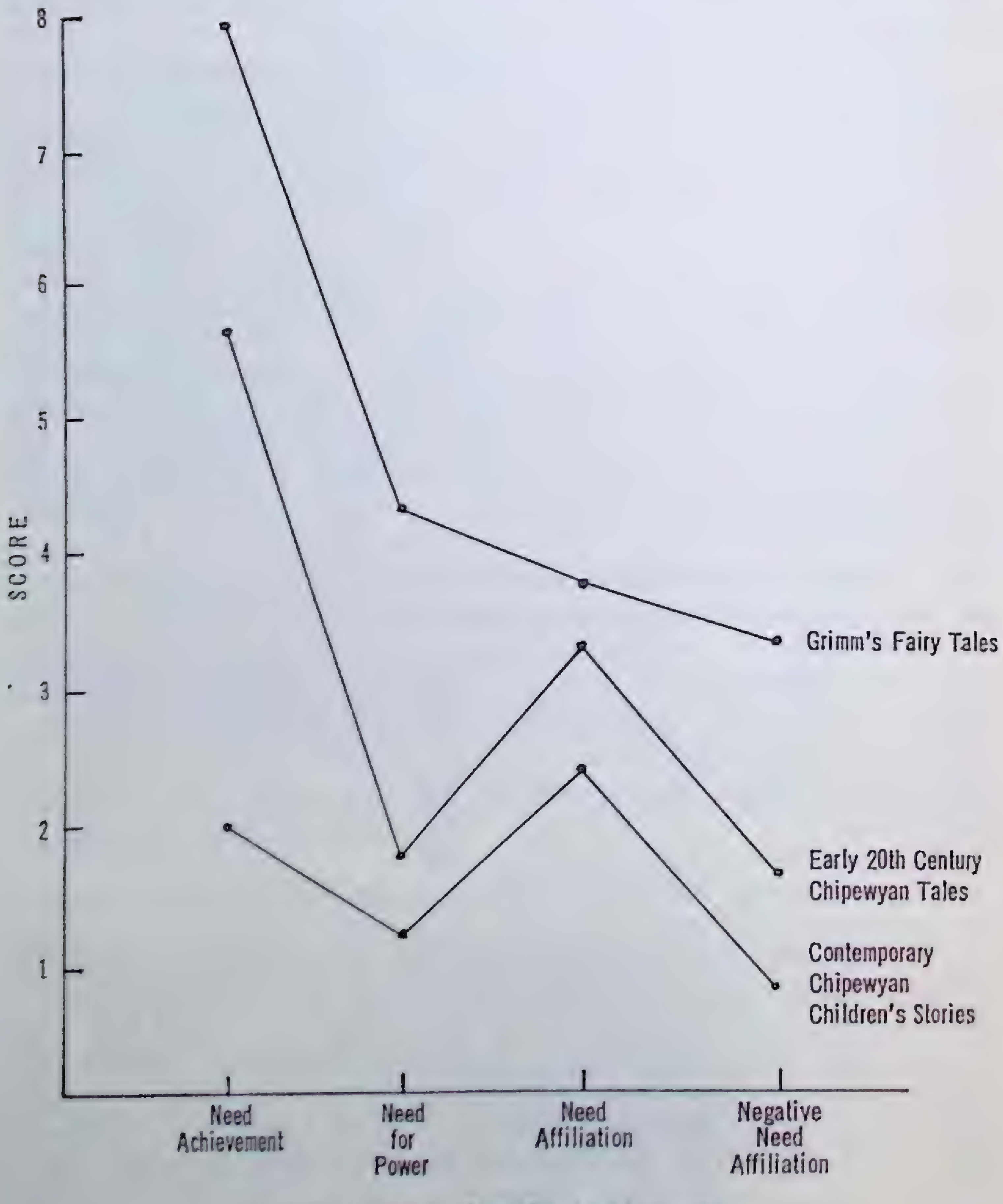

FIGURE 1. Graph of motivational scores

material manifests greater intensity of motivational data than any of the Chipewyan. However, the Grimm's stories are longer than any of the others, and the preceding statement can only be taken as suggestive rather than definitive. Nevertheless, the persistence of characteristic Chipewyan motivation in the earlier and later stories is quite striking, especially when it is realized that manifest subject matter in the two groups of tales is almost entirely different.

If we assume that the scores above are indeed measures of motivational intensity expressed in folklore materials, then we may also use them as measures of self-sufficiency and dependency, depending upon which of the latter categories each of the motivations falls into, under the terms of our operational definition. After reading over the scoring manuals carefully, it has been decided that need-achievement, need for power, and negative need-affiliation all reflect self-sufficiency on the part of ego. In order to normalize these scores for comparison, we have used the following formula:

$$\text{Self-sufficiency} = \frac{\text{Need-achievement} + \text{need for power} + \text{negative need-affiliation[1]}}{3}$$

$$\text{Dependency} = \frac{\text{Need-affiliation}}{1}$$

The results are given below in Table 5.

TABLE 5. *Self-sufficiency and dependency as reflected in a selection of motivations in Grimm's Fairy Tales and Chipewyan stories**

Type of Story	Self-Sufficiency	Dependency
Grimm's Fairy Tales	5.6	3.8
Early 20th century Chipewyan stories	3.0	3.3
Contemporary Chipewyan children's stories	1.3	2.4

* Highest possible score for self-sufficiency $= \frac{11+10+7}{3} = 9.3$; for dependency = 7.0

It should be noted that, as in Method II, the Grimm's tales show a generally high score with a definitely stronger showing for the self-sufficiency measure than for dependency. Like the results of Method I, but unlike those of Method II, the early twentieth century Chipewyan scores show about equal amounts of self-sufficiency and dependency. Although the Method III scores from the contemporary children's stories are low, it should also be noted that they resemble those of Method II in that dependency has a somewhat higher score than self-sufficiency, and in both cases these scores are the lowest when compared to those from another group of stories. It should be kept in mind that the comparatively high dependency scores for the contemporary children's stories may be due to the fact that they are, after all, children's stories.

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[1] These terms are defined in Appendix III.

CONCLUSIONS

In order to apply the data succinctly to a test of the hypotheses put forward earlier in this paper, we have summarized our findings by totalling the numerical results in Methods I, II, and III, and then expressed each individual score as a percentage of the total. This enables us to compare results from separate methods and with the statement of the hypotheses. The results are given below in Table 6. It should be noted that Method I has been used on only one type of story, that of early twentieth century Chipewyan folk tales.

TABLE 6. *Results of Methods I, II, and III expressed as percentages*

Type of Story	Self-Sufficiency Methods			Dependency Methods		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
	Percentages			Percentages		
Early 20th century Chipewyan stories	50.6	16.3	15.5	40.9	25.1	17.0
Contemporary Chipewyan children's stories	—	3.8	6.7	—	10.0	12.4
Grimm's Fairy Tales	—	25.0	28.9	—	12.5	19.5

Hypothesis (1). There are manifestations of self-sufficiency as well as dependency motivations.

The data certainly show that both self-sufficiency and dependency are present in varying amounts in all the material studied, no matter what its cultural or temporal connections. However, our operational definition has been constructed with the object of scoring very wide ranges of behaviour already in the data so that this hypothesis has, in fact, been bypassed, and cannot reliably be said to have been tested. In effect, we have assumed hypothesis (1) to be true within the terms of the definition of the concepts whose presence we hoped to test. This leads to some crucial questions about the nature of self-sufficiency and dependency which will be discussed below.

Hypothesis (2). Self-sufficiency and dependency are durable features which persist throughout the contact period.

Although they vary in intensity, it can easily be seen in the table above that self-sufficiency and dependency are durable features which persist through time. However, the criticisms of circularity applied to hypothesis (1) can also be made for hypothesis (2).

Hypothesis (3). The contact period, especially that part that includes government welfare programmes, tends to stimulate the dependency motivations at the expense of desires for self-sufficiency.

Although the absolute scores are low, the percentage scores from both Methods II and III indicate the same thing: the validity of the conclusion that there has been a large increase in the proportion of dependency to that of self-sufficiency. In the early twentieth century Chipewyan tales, dependency is either equal to self-sufficiency or only slightly larger, while in the contemporary children's stories, the amount of dependency is at least double that of self-sufficiency. Although other factors may be involved, such as the fact that the stories are taken from children, the present research strongly suggests that the contact period, for whatever reasons, has tended to increase the proportion of dependency. It should be remembered that in our judgment, Method I has the greatest amount of error. Therefore, the 10 per cent disparity between self-sufficiency and dependency given in Table 3 for Method I should not be taken too seriously. That is to say, we feel that self-sufficiency and dependency are roughly equal in the early twentieth century Chipewyan stories as measured by Method I.

DISCUSSION

Earlier in this paper we suggested that one of the weaknesses of Method I was its possible relation to the structure of literary action rather than Chipewyan culture. In the conclusion we have been forced to make qualifying remarks about hypotheses (1) and (2). A little thought on this matter brings us to the essence of the problem of self-sufficiency and dependency. Many anthropologists use terms like self-sufficiency, atomistic, or individualistic to refer to an impression gained from their studies about the individual in relation to others, and to his achievement of significant goals through self-assertiveness rather than through co-operation and reciprocal obligations to others. The term dependency is less widely used but has been discussed recently by Jahoda, who claims that dependency results from sustained and long-term subordinate relationships (1961: 111). In the present study we have tried to use these concepts and to make them work. This has brought us to the conclusion that, taken broadly, self-sufficiency and dependency refer to a basic and universal quality of all human social experience, namely action by ego which affects his environment, i.e., self-assertiveness or self-sufficiency, and action directed towards ego over which he has no control, i.e., dependency. Just as all economic systems must have some input and output, or neurological systems must have both afferent and efferent processes, so all systems of social action must have *some* of each of these qualities which we have defined as self-sufficiency and dependency. This is why hypotheses (1) and (2), which have to do with the presence or absence of these characteristics, are not testable—because they are truisms. Parenthetically, this may be why so many writers have been able to analyse aboriginal behavioural traits from ethnohistorical sources, and then find these same features present in the contemporary situation. On the other hand, we are not dealing here with a constant quantity, although these features are constant qualities. In our analysis, we have shown by two separate and distinct methods that Grimm's fairy tales manifest about twice as much self-sufficiency and dependency as the Chipewyan material, but the latter suggests a varying and different proportion of these characteristics over time. In other words, self-sufficiency and dependency do not vary in kind, but in degree. We offer them as herein-defined for comparative work, both between differing societies and within the same society at different time-levels or between differing segments. As concepts, they are also interesting in that logically they should have a large range of both psychological and sociological correlates, and could therefore be utilized as a predictive factor for an extensive set of behavioural items.

One other subject remains to be discussed. This is the possible and plausible explanations for our results. Certainly the high achievement orientation encompassed in the well-known "Protestant Ethic" of Western European culture is reflected in the high self-sufficiency scores found in Grimm's fairy tales. The roughly equal amounts of these qualities found in the early twentieth century Chipewyan folklore can be explained in several ways. First, it may reflect the generic theme discussed above in Method II concerning man's place in a harmonious universe. Within the framework of such an ideology, it is to be expected that man should be controlled by his world and should attempt to control it, in equal parts, always balancing action through self-assertion with the necessity to adjust to rules and the rigours of an environment that he cannot hope to even partially control in realistic terms. In contrast, we would expect the ideology of the cultural milieu from which Grimm's tales are taken to exhort man to master his environment whenever possible, recognizing that he himself cannot ever fully control the universe. This latter fact would explain the presence of some, but less, dependency in the Grimm's tales. Such a view is borne out in the world view of western man with its stress on scientific and technical mastery over nature.

A second explanation would be that the Chipewyan are strongly self-assertive, atomistic, and thus self-sufficient, or at least they wish to be, and the cultural values enjoin them to be, very strongly. However, the rigours of their environment make it constantly possible that they may become helpless and dependent. Furthermore, many of them know that eventually they will become dependent in their old age. These factors, plus a stringent rejection of their childhood dependency on parents, by the parents themselves, give them unconscious dependency strivings (Honigmann; Parker).

The first explanation above is the one favoured by the authors. This is because we know very little as yet about Chipewyan child-training practices and will probably never know in detail very much about these practices in former days. Furthermore, this second explanation requires that we divide self-sufficiency and dependency into a more overt and more covert psychological level respectively. The first explanation is therefore closer to the data we already have available and requires less in the way of assumptions.

If the increase of Chipewyan dependency measured in our study is valid, then several explanations are also possible. First, we may say that government welfare programmes and wardship have made the Chipewyan less desirous of looking after themselves. This is certainly a widespread belief among many people, including Indians, anthropologists, and administrators; and Jahoda's analysis of dependency tends to support this view (1961: 111). That continued subordination, as well as care by a superior, helps produce dependency is logically irrefutable and seems to be true in a widely spread number of colonial-type situations. However, we would like to call attention to another factor that may be operating to intensify dependency. This is the increase in apathy resulting from continuous frustration of any ego-enhancing self-sufficiency behaviour in the contact situation, such that the contemporary Chipewyan may accept the fact that they are more acted upon by their twentieth century world, than they are able to act on and affect it. This latter explanation comes closer to our definition of the term dependency, and thus to the quality we have actually isolated. Although we do not suggest this as an alternative to the more usual explanation, we do suggest that it may be an added and a complicating factor to the welfare-equals-dependency thesis. If we are correct, and our data point in this direction, then the contemporary Chipewyan feel that action initiated by themselves to affect their environment is more likely to fail than to succeed, so that they are more willing than either Europeans, or their own forbears, to accept whatever happens to them without reacting actively, and they are less likely to initiate any sort of action, compared with Europeans and with their own forbears. Our conclusions, then, not only are in general agreement with those of Hallowell, Caudill, Barnouw, and Parker but are closely related to the observations made by Spindler except that, whereas the traditional Menomoni were placed in a "passively acceptant" relation to life by their reliance on an external supernatural force for self-sufficiency and personal power, the contemporary Chipewyan find themselves in a similar situation because of the deculturative process. Whether or not this is evidence that "the genesis of the modern Indian self lies in the social processes that constitute reservation life," as James has suggested for the Wisconsin Ojibwa, remains to be determined (1961: 734).

Only future research designed especially to test the validity of these various explanations can settle the matter. It is our hope that in the meantime we have stimulated interest in the subject, indicated a possible methodology for this kind of study, and cautioned the administrator not to jump at conclusions in this complex field.

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APPENDICES

I

Categories for Content-Analysis of Chipewyan Folk Tales

A. *Personnel*
  1. Activity in isolation
  2. Activity with some alter
    a. person
      i. same sex
      ii. opposite sex
    b. animal
    c. supernatural being (animal may be supernatural being: scored twice)
    d. relative (kin term used)
      i. senior to ego
      ii. junior to ego

B. *Characteristics of Action*
  1. Action concerning ego
    I. Ego performs action
      a. ego is harmful, aggressive, hostile
      b. ego helps, aids, gives succour and advice
      c. ego frustrates, stops something from happening
      d. ego encourages something to happen
      e. ego asks for help
      f. ego discourages something from happening; talks alter out of it
      g. ego tricks alter
      h. ego orders or commands
      i ego adapts to a new and strange situation
      j. ego does not adapt
      k. ego is trying to hunt, fish, trap, or gather
        i. successfully
        ii. unsuccessfully
      l. ego captures alter
      m. ego puts alter in danger
      n. ego asks a question
      o. ego submits to alter, defers to him in any way

    II. Ego is acted upon
      a. ego is harmed, aggressed upon in any way
      b. ego is helped, aided, given succour and advice
      c. ego is frustrated from doing something
      d. ego is encouraged to do something
      e. ego is asked for help, aid, succour
      f. ego is discouraged from doing something
      g. ego is tricked
      h. ego is ordered to do something
      i. ego is in danger
      j. ego is captured, subdued
      k. ego is asked a question
      l. alter is trying to hunt, fish, trap, or gather, and this intrudes upon ego

  2. Action concerning alter not covered above
    I. Alter acts
      a. alter harms, aggresses against
      b. alter helps

c. alter frustrates
d. alter encourages
e. alter asks for help
f. alter discourages
g. alter tricks
h. alter orders
i. alter adapts to a situation
j. alter fails to adapt
k. alter is trying to hunt, fish, trap, or gather
    i. successfully
    ii. unsuccessfully
l. alter captures
m. alter puts something or someone in danger
n. alter asks a question
o. alter submits or defers

II. Alter acted upon
a. alter is harmed, aggressed against
b. alter is helped
c. alter is frustrated
d. alter is encouraged
e. alter is asked for help
f. alter is discouraged from doing something
g. alter is tricked
h. alter is ordered to do something
i. alter is in danger
j. alter is captured, subdued
k. alter is asked a question
l. alter is intruded upon while he is trying to hunt, fish, trap, or gather

The Application of a Simple Content Analysis to an Early Chipewyan Folk Tale

How the Caribou Came Back to Man

(Birket-Smith, 1930, p. 90–91)

A/2/a/i A/2/c A/2/a/i
Once upon a time the men found the thunderbird's egg./ They were out hunting

B/1/I/k A/2/a/i B/1/I/k/ii A/2/a/i B/1/I/k A/2/a/i B/1/I/k/ii
caribou,/ but there were no animals./ They searched for them,/ but still they found none./

0 0
However, there was a man whose name was (EdEguE),/ "the worm in the antler."/ He

A/2/b 0 A/2/b B/1/I/n
met an antler (?)/ who was called (EdEguE) (?)/ and asked it: "Where are all your friends?"/

A/2/b B/1/II/b A/2/b B/1/II/b
The other answered: "They are not far from here./ Go to the place where the caribou

B/1/II/d A/2/b B/1/II/b A/2/b B/1/II/b
usually shed their antlers;/ that is the land of the caribou,/ and all my friends are there."/

A/2/b B/1/II/b A/2/b B/1/II/b
So they wandered on together/ and came to the place where all the caribou were./

0 A/2/b A/2/c
It was a long, low promontory,/ and while going from there they again found the thunderbird's eggs;/

A/2/b
but they did not touch them./

A/2/b A/1
However, there was a woman who tied a thong to one of the caribou,/ thinking that

A/2/b B/1/I/d
when the animals returned from their wanderings she would know that this one belonged
A/1 A/2/b
to her./ So the caribou wandered from the promontory out into the water,/ and (EdEguE)
A/2/b
B/1/I/d B/1/II/c A/2/b B/1/II/c B/2/I/c
tried to get them to turn back,/ but in vain;/ but the caribou that had got the thing tied
A/1
to it prevented the other animals from turning back./ Then thought (EdEguE): "I will
B/1/I/d A/1 B/1/I/d
go and get the thunderbird's egg/ and throw it out into the water on the other side of the
A/1 B/1/I/d
caribou./ Then they will surely make for the shore."/

A/1 B/1/I/d A/1
He went back for the egg;/ and while he was on his way it began to thunder./ From
A/2/b B/1/I/d A/2/b A/2/c B/1/I/d
the promontory he threw it as far out as he could,/ so that it fell down on the far side of
A/2/c A/2/b
the caribou./ And so, when it began to thunder on the far side of the caribou,/ they all
B/1/I/d B/1/I/f O A/2/b
began to make for the shore,/ where (EdEguE) stood./ When they came from there /he
A/2/b A/1 A/2/b B/1/I/d
removed the thong/ and threw it away,/ but thereafter rubbed the muzzles, ears and legs
B/1/I/d
of the animals with mud to frighten them./ That is why the caribou are so shy now./
A/2/b B/1/I/l A/2/b B/1/I/d O
He also took a caribou calf with him,/ but released it near to his tent./ Close to the tent
A/2/b B/1/I/b B/1/I/d
was a crossing place,/ and there he let the caribou calf and its mother swim over in safety./

O A/2/b
Later on a big flock of caribou came to swim over;/ but when the women in the tent
A/2/b B/2/I/a A/1 B/2/I/k
saw it/ they thought; "We will kill some of them,"/ and went down to the crossing place./
A/2/b B/2/I/c B/2/I/k/ii A/2/b B/1/II/b
But the caribou ran away,/ and in that manner they came back to man;/ (EdEguE)
O O
said: "When you hear the thunder,/ it is a sign that there are still caribou round about;/
O
but when you do not hear it thunder, there are no animals."/

II

Cheelee

There was once a beautiful girl whose name was Cheelee, which means tiny feet in Indian. She had such tiny feet that they named her Cheelee. Her father was an Indian chief. Their tribe was living on a high mountain, and there was a pure little pond by the mountain. Every morning Cheelee would go down to the pond and go swimming.

On another mountain nearby lived a king in his palace. The king had a son who was handsome. Every morning the king's son would look out the window and watch the beautiful maiden going down to the pond.

One day he decided to go down to the pond. So early in the morning he went down to the pond and hid in the bushes when the beautiful maiden arrived at the pond. As soon as he saw her clearly, he fell in love with her. She had such dainty, tiny feet that the handsome young man decided to rake out all the pebbles in the pond so that she would not hurt her tiny feet.

But one day the men from the tribe saw the king's son by the pond. The chief told his men to take the young man and put him to death. When Cheelee heard about this she went to the place where the young man was just about to be put to death. He looked so brave and handsome that she fell in love with him. But she was too late; he was put to death. She felt very sad. Later she found out that it was he who had dug out the rocks in the pond so she made the men make the pond heart-shaped for the memory of their love.

So to this day the heart-shaped pond is still here and if you almost close your eyes and look at it hard you still see the prince and the beautiful Indian maiden.

III

The following are the criteria used for judging the Chipewyan story in Appendix I for motivational components (Child, *et al.*, 1958).

For the definition of Achievement Imagery (AI) the story must contain "an explicit statement of concern over successful competition with a standard in order to define the achievement goals of (the) culture" (p. 184). If AI is judged to be present, then scoring may continue and the following behavioural sequence may or may not occur on the part of a character in the story.

> He may also be anticipating successful attainment of his goal (GA+) or anticipating frustration and failure (GA−). He may engage in activity instrumental (I) to the attainment of his goal which may lead to the attainment of the goal (I+) or not (I−). Sometimes his goal-directed activity will be blocked. The obstacle or block (B) to his progress may be located in the world at large (Bw) or it may be some personal deficiency in himself (Bp). He may experience strong positive and negative affective states while engaged in solving his problem, i.e., in attempting to gratify his motive. He is likely to experience a state of positive affect (G+) in goal attainment, or a state of negative affect (G−) when his goal-directed activity is thwarted or he fails. Often someone will help or sympathize with him—[nurturant press (Nup)]—aiding him in his goal-directed behavior (p. 179-80).
>
> Someone in the story states the desire to reach an achievement goal (N) (p. 190).

Finally, the entire story is judged as being an achievement story primarily and given a score for Achievement Thema. "Achievement Thema (Ach Th) is scored when the Achievement Imagery is elaborated in such a manner that it becomes the central plot or thema of the story" (p. 202). Each of the above categories can be scored only once and the total score possible is 11 (AI, N, I, Ga+, Ga—, Bp, Bw, Nup, G+, G—, and Th). Thus for the story in Appendix I, the scoring, based on the authors' analysis, is as follows: AI, I—, Ga+, Bw, Nup, Ach Th, making a total of six for need achievement.

According to the scoring manual, Affiliation Imagery (Aff Im)

> is scored when the story contains some evidence of concern in one or more of the characters over *establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person. This relationship is most adequately described by the word friendship.* The minimum basis for scoring would be that the relationship of one of the characters in the story to someone else is that of friendship (p. 205-06).

The subcategories for Affiliation Imagery are similar to those for Achievement Imagery. The former is not present in the story in Appendix I, thus giving it a score of zero. Neither is its reverse or opposite need for non-affiliation (*see* p. 43 of this paper).

Power Imagery (Pow Im) is scored when "there (is) some reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of one of the characters in a story which indicates that the character is concerned with the control of the means of influencing a person" (p. 220). If this is present, subcategories can be scored. There is no Power Imagery in the story in Appendix I.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE KAYAK-COMPLEX, BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T.

By Milton M. R. Freeman

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur traite de l'usage du kayac en peau de phoque et de certaines répercussions d'ordre social, technologique et écologique observées chez les Esquimaux des îles Belcher en 1959 et en 1960.

Pour diverses raisons, le kayac est demeuré, jusqu'au moment de la présente étude, le principal genre d'embarcations de chasse chez les chasseurs de mammifères marins aux îles Belcher. Toutefois, des changements se sont produits depuis les premiers temps dans certains aspects de la fabrication, de l'utilisation et de l'appartenance des kayacs; en même temps, des changements se sont produits dans les méthodes de chasse et dans le rapport écologique entre ces Esquimaux et les ressources de leur milieu. Ces modifications culturelles postérieures aux nouveaux contacts que les Esquimaux ont subis, sont attribuées de diverses manières à certaines influences d'ordre technologique et économique.

L'auteur traite aussi de la façon dont s'est effectué le remplacement progressif du kayac par des embarcations à moteur de fabrication industrielle. Il ne traite pas en détail des répercussions sociologiques de ce remplacement continu, mais il présume que les antécédents historiques jouent un grand rôle dans la compréhension des répercussions d'ordre social que nous pouvons observer à l'heure actuelle.

Il décrit en détail la structure et les méthodes de fabrication d'un kayac en peau de phoque. Le texte renferme le nom des parties composantes du kayac et des accessoires de chasse en dialecte des îles Belcher.

Il fait mention de la construction locale d'un kayac à deux places. Il décrit aussi d'autres caractéristiques apparemment locales en matière de fabrication de kayacs et d'accessoires.

Nous espérons avoir fourni suffisamment de détails ethnographiques pour permettre d'apprécier les modifications futures dans certains aspects de l'utilisation du kayac aux îles Belcher. A cette fin, nous donnons, par rapport à la population des îles, la proportion d'Esquimaux du sexe masculin, âgés de plus de dix-sept ans, qui sont propriétaires ou copropriétaires d'un kayac, ainsi que des données pertinentes sur leur lieu de résidence et sur leurs associations.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of manufactured boats of Euro-Canadian origin has been a relatively recent innovation on the Belcher Islands, compared to elsewhere in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

Compared to the adjacent mainland of Ungava, fox-trapping to this day has remained a marginal economic activity. The outcome, in summary, has been of necessity a slow rate of change in activities associated with the food quest, which on the Belcher Islands for several generations has been based almost exclusively on sea-mammal hunting.

Because of the Islands' geographical location and resources, the man's sealskin-covered hunting boat, or kayak (**Krarak,* or *krayak* locally) still remains the dominant form of hunting boat in use by its inhabitants. However, the socio-economic changes that elsewhere have led to the virtual replacement of this traditional artifact by imported boats are now in progress on the Islands. The art of building and hunting from kayaks is still practised by the majority of hunters including young men. Nevertheless certain changes illustrating the decline of the 'kayak complex' have occurred during the lifetime of the present hunters.

The purpose of this paper is threefold:

1. To record the position of the kayak in the contemporary cultural setting, as witnessed during the period of the writer's visits to the Belcher Islands from 1959 to 1961.
2. To attempt to evaluate changes known to have occurred, or to be in the process of occurring, in the technology and ecology of the Belcher Island Eskimo, relating to the manufacture and use of the kayak.
3. To provide sufficiently detailed observations so that future changes in the above matters can be followed and evaluated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the Carnegie Arctic Programme Committee of McGill University, the Banting Fund of the Arctic Institute of North America, and the Fisheries Research Board of Canada, for so generously supporting his field studies on the Belcher Islands.

Numerous individuals kindly gave their assistance before, during, and after the actual field-work. I am particularly indebted to Mr. and Mrs. B. F. McMaster, Mr. E. May, and the Rev. S. Wilkinson, residents of Great Whale River, P.Q.; to Dr. E. H. Grainger and Dr. A. W. Mansfield, scientists-in-charge, and Mr. B. Margetts, Captain, C.G.M.V. *Calanus*; and to Mr. M. C. Hampson and a number of Belcher Island families for hospitality and valued assistance on many occasions during the field-work.

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* Spelling of Eskimo words in the text is according to Thibert, 1954.

Dr. T. F. S. McFeat suggested the writing of the paper and has co-operated throughout on the improvement and production of the manuscript. Mr. E. Arima suggested certain amendments to the text. Dr. D. J. Damas helped to improve the manuscript by numerous suggestions. To all of them I acknowledge my indebtedness for their patient assistance and continued encouragement received during the writing of this report.

THE KAYAK IN BELCHER ISLAND ESKIMO LIFE

The Annual Subsistence Cycle

The importance of the kayak in the food quest will largely depend on the season and, to a smaller extent only, on the location of the encampment. It is necessary to state that variation in subsistence techniques, between camps, does occur on the Belcher Islands, reflecting not only differences in physiography and type of equipment available at the camps, but also the personal preferences of certain hunters for the type of game sought and the methods of securing it. For the purpose of this discussion, the most prevalent techniques on the archipelago will be taken to represent the seasonal norm, these to a large extent representing fairly typically the practices of the Islanders since the time firearms came into extensive use amongst the group. The widespread use of firearms among the Islanders probably occurred in the first decade of this century; early reports (Turner, 1894; Leith and Leith, 1912) state that firearms had not yet replaced the bow and arrow and the spear, but this replacement appears to have occurred, probably to a large extent, before Flaherty's visit to the Islands in 1915–16.

The Spring. At this season the kayak is altogether dispensable. This is a time when seals are plentiful alongside their breathing-holes in the fast-ice and returning wildfowl occur in abundance on the land. Before overland sledging ceases altogether at the end of May, journeys may be undertaken to fish for char *(Salvelinus alpinus)* through the lake ice, using hooks and leisters.

A kayak may be used to tend a net placed in a river; however, as most kayaks at this time are in a state of disrepair prior to their annual re-covering, nets, if used, are generally placed at narrow parts of the river where they can be tended from the shore.

The Summer. The break-up of the sea-ice may be conveniently taken as the beginning of summer; this varies from early June to late July, depending both on the particular year and on the region of the Belcher Islands. Summer comes first to the southern and eastern parts, later to the northwest. Immediately following break-up of the sea-ice, the kayaks are repaired in readiness for the new season. Following this is a period of intense kayak activity, during which time high hunting returns may be expected. These will be higher in regions where the sea-ice persists as loose pack, which again tends to be the northern parts of the archipelago. The most valuable sea-mammal sought at this time is the bearded seal *(Erignathus barbatus)*. This seal is fairly uniformly distributed in the coastal waters of the Belcher Islands, but some areas are especially suitable on account of the prevailing feeding conditions. Favouring the pack ice, this seal is eagerly hunted off the Belchers as the ice facilitates the hunting and butchering of such a large animal.

Another prized sea-mammal at this season is the white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*), which has a more localized distribution on the Islands. In some cases camps occur at localities favourable for hunting this species. The method of hunting consists of driving the whales into a restricted place such as a river mouth or cove, where they are either killed and recovered from the bottom, or driven ashore and stranded. In 1960, a family camping at a suitable whaling location obtained three whales; the hunter (E9-68) used a kayak. The previous summer this man and another (E9-69), camping at another whaling location, obtained three whales.

The ubiquitous ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) can be hunted everywhere around the coasts of the Belcher Islands. However, in the summer months the sinking rate of seals is particularly high on these Islands (McLaren and Mansfield, 1960), and care is taken not to kill the seal before it is harpooned. At present, hunting in the open-water season from the kayak is carried out without recourse to a seal-skin float; no substitute float has appeared. The 'kayak-stand,' which formerly held the coiled harpoon line on the deck of the kayak, has also disappeared. The use of the harpoon (*unark*) with detachable head (*naulaa*) has been modified with loss of the float from the hunting equipment. Now the function is mainly to retrieve a mortally wounded or stunned seal; to this end the harpoon used in summer sealing is a stabbing implement which is not cast any distance, if at all. It has a shortened haft and overall may only measure about three to three and a half feet in length. Some men prefer to use a small stabbing harpoon with an attached barbed head. This implement (*torotik*) dispenses entirely with the harpoon line and, together with the rifle or shotgun, and knife, comprises the simplified contemporary hunting equipment of a Belcher Island kayak hunter.

Below is the table of events noted at a small, three-family camp in the early summer of 1959. Three men (Noah, E9-75; his son Joe, E9-78; and Daniel, E9-97) hunted from kayaks; father and son shared one kayak; the other man had his own.

June 13—Break-up of sea-ice occurred locally

June 22 to 25—Repairs and renovation to the two kayaks

June 27—Five ringed seal taken (Noah and Daniel hunted)

July 1—Three ringed seal taken (Noah and Daniel hunted)

July 2—Five ringed seal and a bearded seal (Joe and Daniel hunted)

July 16—Seven ringed seal taken (Noah and Daniel hunted)

The area in which these hunts occurred (Wetalltok Bay) is not particularly noteworthy as a sealing location; each day's hunt occupied between twenty-four and thirty man-hours. An occasion was recalled by Noah, when his brother (E9-85) and another hunter (Kumarluk) obtained twenty ringed seal in one day in Omarolluk Sound. This, however, was regarded as exceptional hunting.

As the summer progresses the weather becomes less satisfactory for hunting from the kayak. At any time men may have to turn to fishing, particularly when ammunition for wildfowling becomes scarce. Approximately a third of the Belcher Island households owned fish-nets, but fishing for char by net is not a common activity; the reason for this being the scarcity of worthwhile fishing on the Islands and its very infrequent correspondence to summer camping locations. However, cod (*Gadus ogac*) is fished with baited hooks from the kayak in the open-water season, particularly when inclement weather makes sealing or wildfowling impossible.

Another infrequent summer activity is hunting the ranger seal (*Phoca vitulina*). This animal is particularly prized on account of its decorative pelt, but more recently the skin has been sought for trading purposes. In addition, it is claimed that the skin has strength and non-freezing qualities which make it valued for winter dog-traces. Ranger seal occurs in both fresh and salt water. The problem in hunting these seals is their great timidity, their power as swimmers, and the fact that they will sink immediately when killed. Fortunately for the hunter, the ranger seal often hauls out on land, and so the hunter may kill it from a distance with a rifle without loss of the carcass. The favoured hauling-out places on the Belcher Islands are certain small rocky outcrops in the large Kasegalik Lake and other islets in the Kasegalik River, and some deep inlets on the southwest coast. The combination of kayak and rifle is sufficient for hunting this species, but the harpoons used for the ringed or bearded seal are, in fact, virtually useless. Before the widespread use of firearms on the Belcher Islands, the hunting of ranger seal occurred almost exclusively along the Kasegalik River. Stone 'blinds' were erected at certain rapids, and the seals were ambushed as they ascended these rapids. They would also be clubbed as they came on land to by-pass one particular set of falls. It has been suggested (Holtved, 1962) that hunting of ranger seal from the kayak could only occur after the introduction of the rifle. The timidity of the animal requires that it be killed at a distance, and it is further suggested (*ibid.*) that the development of the bladder dart follows on the commencement of hunting this species of seal. Bladder darts have been in use on the Belcher Islands (Jenness, 1941), but it is unlikely that the use of darts and rifles attained much importance locally over the other methods of obtaining ranger seal.

Shooting of sea-birds from the kayak is only occasionally done. The reason for this is the nesting of large numbers of geese inland during the summer months and the southern migration of 'Waveys' that provide supplies in the fall. However, locally and at some seasons, duck shooting from the kayak is highly productive. For example, in the late summer certain sheltered bays and sounds harbour large numbers of moulted, and hence flightless, Scoter Ducks, which may be collected with a very economical outlay of shotgun ammunition. For the same reason of gregariousness, individuals from small flocks of Eider Duck may be collected in the early summer before the birds pair and the flocks disappear.

The kayak is also used for transportation to the eider holms at certain localities. Eggs of Eider Duck principally, but also Guillemot, Old Squaw duck, and Herring Gull are collected, as is the down from the eider nests, which is used in bedding and pillows.

The Fall. Hunting of sea-mammals continues as during the summer. However, the seasonal state of the weather, with the increased and sudden winds, tends to limit the duration of kayak hunts, and few journeys of any length are undertaken.

Another species of seal, the harp seal (*Phoca groenlandica*), may occur at this season, but it only passes the Belcher Islands on migration. In addition, it does not generally keep inshore where most of the sealing occurs at this season.

There is an increased demand for fish in the autumn, for, locally, on account of poor sealing conditions, this is a 'hungry season.' Jigging for cod occurs, and at times of food shortage even sculpins (*Myoxocephalus scorpio*) will be eaten. Men and older boys may fish from kayaks, but women and children require a convenient place to use their hand lines from the shore.

Char have already returned to the lakes by the beginning of September, and at some camps in October fishing for char with the leister from a kayak may occur in the shallow water over the spawning beds, where large quantities of fish can be obtained in a short time. Nets are also set near the spawning beds, but in deeper water.

The Winter. The type of winter sealing employed locally will depend on the time and the nature of the sea-ice. Provided the floe-edge is not too distant and no tide rips or other open waters occur near by, it is usual during the first half of winter to hunt at the floe-edge. The kayak is sledged to the floe-edge and used to retrieve seals shot from the fast-ice. Later in the winter, it is more usual to hunt at the seal breathing-holes in the fast-ice, and the kayak has virtually no further use till the open-water season returns. Some winter camps are situated near open-water pools in the fast-ice, caused by currents or tidal action. Hunting at these places (called *kutaluk*) throughout the winter can be undertaken without the use of the kayak, as the shot seal will drift against the edge of the ice.

At some of the *kutaluit*, Eiders and Old-Squaw duck occur throughout the winter. Elsewhere at the floe-edge these duck may be occasionally taken.

Walrus Hunting. An important resource, not included earlier in this section because of the recent decline in its status, is the walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*). This species has always been eagerly hunted by the Eskimo on account of the large amount of meat one animal yields, and the former importance of the ivory in the native technology. Walrus meat is regarded as the very best dog-food as well as being relished by the human population. Formerly, ivory was used in harpoon construction and put to a variety of uses for toggles and handles. It was used as shoeing for sledges,[1] and there was a protective ivory top (*nukvukutik*) to the kayak paddle (*pautik*). Summer tents were made from walrus hides and sealskins.

The walrus has a restricted, local distribution. The animal occurs in certain areas suitable for feeding and hauling out onto the land. However, it may occur at other places for short periods during seasonal migration. It favours the pack-ice in the spring, and at that time, until this decade, small numbers were taken at the floe-edge in the north and northwestern parts of the archipelago. It appears that very recently the herds shifted their location and now occur in the extreme southwest of the archipelago in the fall only. They are no longer found at other seasons on the Islands, apart from the time they are migrating along the western coast en route to the southwestern hauling-out sites. Unfortunately for the hunters, the distance from the main Island group to these hauling-out sites cannot be undertaken at this late season by kayak, and the sporadic appearance of walrus along the hundred-mile western coastline of the archipelago in the summer does not encourage exploitation by the human population, who are at this season rather drawn to the eastern edge of the Islands where the trading and other inducements are located[2] (Desgoffe, 1955). In consequence, walrus contributes an almost negligible part to the economy of the community at the present time. Three walrus were taken in the 1959 fall hunts, undertaken by whaleboat, and four in the following autumn.

Formerly various methods of hunting walrus were employed. In the summer, swimming walrus might be encountered offshore. The usual practice was to drive the herd toward the shore; if a suitable enclosed bay was available, the walrus would be driven into comparatively shallow water and killed, to be retrieved after death from the bottom. Ideally, the walrus may have clambered on shore, thus saving the effort of beaching the carcasses. This method was employed both before and after the introduction of firearms. A single walrus encountered offshore was impossible to 'herd' at all. The only method possible in this case was to harpoon the walrus, thus preventing its escape from sight, and then to kill it as soon as possible. Before the introduction of the rifle, this would have been undertaken by the killing lance, and usually it could only have been attempted if two or three men were present to attack from different angles. Even after the introduction of the rifle, walrus hunting in this manner remained a co-operative endeavour, as a mortally wounded walrus may attack with great ferocity. The safest method of hunting in the summer and fall was to kill the walrus on land at the hauling-out places. In the winter and spring, walrus were taken at the floe-edge; it was necessary to use sealskin floats, as the killing occurs over deep water. In the spring, however, walrus could be killed as they slept on floating ice pans.

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[1] Two ivory-shod sledges were still in use on the Islands in 1959.

[2] The transfer of the trading post in 1961 to the northern part of the Belcher Islands will probably bring about a redistribution of population that may result in some summer walrus hunting. However, kayak hunting for walrus is unlikely to re-occur now that power-boats are available.

The big problem to overcome in walrus hunting on the Belcher Islands is the distances that must be travelled from certain outlying islands where walrus occur in large numbers, back to the main Eskimo-inhabited group of islands. Although journeys across these stretches of water were within the capability of the hunter in his kayak, the danger inherent in travelling back in a kayak, heavily loaded with the produce of the hunt, discouraged much walrus hunting in the open water season.

Transport and Seamanship

The principal use of the kayak on the Belcher Islands at present is for hunting sea mammals. In earlier times it was more extensively used for communication purposes between camps and trading locations. This particular activity has now largely been taken over by the communal use of whaleboats. There is no record in the literature of the large skin-covered 'umiak' in use on the Belcher Islands, and there is no oral tradition locally regarding these craft. Movement of camps was effected by kayaks, using three different techniques to increase their load-carrying capacity.

The first method was to raft two or more kayaks together; they were held side by side by means of sealskin lashings. The name given this contrivance is *katimaruk*. It was observed in use by Flaherty in 1915 (Flaherty, 1923). A second, and similar, device was the catamaran proper. This employs the use of two kayaks, held a short distance apart by means of wooden spars lashed across the kayaks at right angles to their length. This twin-hulled craft is *krilimitok*. The simplest method, and third, used to increase the effective stability and hence the carrying capacity of the kayak, was to lash wooden spars along the outside of the gunwales. With this increased buoyancy, the kayak could safely be used with the after-deck awash.

The expertise of the Belcher Island kayak men has been acknowledged. Flaherty adjudges them superior in skill and daring to any others he had met (Flaherty, 1918). An ex-kayak hunter (E9-259) from Richmond Gulf on the mainland recounted the skill of certain Islanders who would attack the walrus with harpoon and killing lance from their kayaks. One such man was Aularok, whose widow, Annie (E9-148), still survives.

Journeys of some length were undertaken for hunting and trading purposes. The most hazardous was probably the crossing from the Islands to the Ungava mainland, a distance of about eighty miles. These crossings were not frequent undertakings, and at least one ended in disaster (Twomey and Herrick, 1942). Now that power-boats are in use on the Islands, it is most unlikely that a kayak crossing will ever occur again.

In the year or two before 1950, four men[1] set out from the east coast of Tukarak Island and reached Richmond Gulf on the mainland; the journey required 'three sleeps'; i.e., four days. During the voyage, the men lashed the kayaks together at night to form a *katimaruk;* they also put out a sea-anchor at the same time. This latter device was made by filling a sealskin bag with ballast and suspending it several feet below the surface from an inflated sealskin float. The float and the submerged bag were towed about one kayak length behind the *katimaruk.*

Kayaking accidents seem surprisingly rare for a group of island people so dependent on these craft for their subsistence and, until very recently, for all forms of summer movement. During the last decade, only three drownings from kayaks were recalled; these were all young men,[2] although one was in a quartet who crossed by kayak to Richmond Gulf (*see* above). One factor probably reducing the drowning rate is the indirect effect of the notoriously bad weather on the Belcher Islands during the fall. It appears that a principal cause of drowning in certain other localities is the cutting action of 'new ice' in the fall, which damages the sealskin covering. On the Belcher Islands, the incidence of strong winds in the fall months is so great that little kayaking occurs at the time of new ice formation. Another factor tending to reduce the danger attached to summer sealing from the kayak is the peculiar physiography of the Belcher archipelago. Summer camps for the most part occur in the sheltered bays, in partially enclosed sounds or in places protected by offshore skerries and islands, all of which helps to make the area a relatively safe as well as productive sealing locality.

The complexity of the coastline is such that frequent travel can be greatly facilitated by overland portaging; these portages make use of chains of lakes, or even small ponds and streams occurring on narrow necks of land between adjacent bays. Certain areas of the Belcher Islands are locally named *itidliarok,* referring to their importance as overland routes for kayak men as well as sledges.

In portaging, the kayak is carried upside down, with the front of the cockpit resting across the shoulders of the portager. Thus the man carrying the kayak has his head inside the kayak, but as the cockpit is lower at the back than at the front, he can see where he is walking. Generally, the stern post (i.e., the front of the kayak as it is carried) is supported by a helper; this greatly eases the task of portaging. For this reason, a journey requiring several portages will be made by two people in the one kayak. As very little weight is taken at the front of the kayak, the helper is often a child, whose principal use is to obviate the need for the portager to balance the load alone.

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[1] Apwakok (E9-8), Moses Apwakok (E9-156), Davidie (E9-130), Markisie.

[2] Markisie (24 years old) drowned 1950; Tukkaluk (E9-143, aged 18) drowned 1954; Johnnie Nungak (E9-106, aged 17) drowned 1951.

When passengers are carried in the kayak, they will lie prostrate under the fore-and-aft decks, with their heads to the centre. Two adult passengers can be so accommodated. More often, one passenger only is carried, and in this case he lies under the fore-deck, with his head between the thighs of the paddler.

A strap is used in portaging a kayak; it is called *namautak,* but its exact function was not ascertained.

An unusual kayak accessory until recently in use on the Belcher Islands was the sail (*tikyautak*). There is no indication to be found in the literature to suggest its use was normal kayak practice among the Eskimos, and one can only speculate on the origin of this idea. A picture of kayaks with sails in use on the Belcher Islands has been published (Twomey and Herrick, 1942). The sail was set on a small mast attached to the prow of the kayak. It is set well forward of the position a hunting screen would occupy on the deck, and it seems unlikely to have developed directly from this device. In hunting, the kayak approaches from downwind of the objective, and thus there is every reason to use a hunting screen as small as possible, concomitant with the purpose of concealment. In addition, as hunting can only be undertaken on days of very light winds, the size of sail necessary to confer any appreciable advantage would be such as to interfere seriously with the hunting in every conceivable way.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to seek the origin of the kayak sail in some specifically non-hunting undertaking where the kayak would be used. Transportation, as we have described earlier, employed a number of devices to increase the stability of the individual kayak. A multiple-hulled craft, improvised from two or more kayaks, has effectively increased the stability of the whole, to the point where manœuvrability is substantially reduced. Coupled with this is the lack of speed which, together, prevents the catamaran or raft from effective use in hunting. Paddling a catamaran or raft is a laborious operation, and it seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that advantage would be taken to utilize to the full any following wind. A centrally placed sail could not be used, as the nine-foot-long double-bladed paddles would be obstructed by the mast and sustaining lines. If sails were used on these craft, then the bow was the only position to which they could be attached with advantage.

Kayak Ownership

If a man fails to secure sufficient skins in the spring to re-cover his kayak, or if the kayak is severely damaged after the annual re-covering has occurred, it is most likely that the frame will be cached until the following spring when a sufficiency of sealskins of the required quality will again be available. For the purpose of recording kayak ownership in the sample years 1959–61, the re-covering of the kayak is counted as ownership, even if subsequently during that season the kayak were to become damaged and rendered non-usable. In one case, the intended re-covering of the frame was prevented by poor hunting returns in that family during one of the two sampled seasons. However, this was counted as ownership.

In summary, it was observed that from a total of forty-two hunters in the community, aged seventeen years or over, seventeen owned their own kayaks; six had shared use of a kayak; six were too old or infirm to use the kayak; four were recent immigrants, having power-boats but no kayaks; nine were Belcher Islanders not hunting from kayaks for other than reasons of poor health.

Kayak Owners. These were all nominal heads of households, excepting one (E9-36), who, by virtue of being the principal provider, was the effective head of the family.

Shared Use of Kayak. Three of the six sharing partnerships were between father and son; two of these three were unmarried sons still residing with their parents (E9-75/78 and 147). In the third case a married son with separate household appeared to have an obligatory economic partnership with his father (E9-103/109). Three men shared the use of kayaks with brothers; in two cases the kayak was the nominal property of the elder sibling (E9-19/18, E9-31/32); in the other case (E9-56/59) the kayak was regarded as 'shared property.'

Aged and Infirm. Certain men were still able to engage in a limited amount of hunting, fishing, and trapping but were unable to use the kayak on account of physical disability. One (E9-139), born in 1911, was considered too old. Three men had crippling disabilities (E9-85, E9-34, and E9-149). Two other men had given up the use of kayaks following surgery (E9-130) and chronic illness (E9-121).

Immigrants. Four hunters on the Belcher Islands had recently arrived from Ungava; each had the use of a power boat and did not own or use the kayak. These men arrived from Port Harrison in 1953 (E9-1625), from Richmond Gulf in 1954 (E9-259 and E9-263), and from Great Whale River in 1959 (E9-1731).

Belcher Islanders without Kayaks. Not including the six old and infirm Islanders mentioned above, nine men came under this present category. Two of these nine (E9-8 and E9-69) were the owners of the only canoes in the possession of native-born Islanders. Five were young unmarried men; they were at an age when their training in kayak building and practice would have commenced. These men, their ages, and their fathers' kayak status are tabulated below:

E9-117—Born 1942. Orphan, with no fixed residence

E9-73—Born 1942. Father E9-69; canoe owner, no kayak

E9-10—Born 1943. Father E9-8; canoe owner, no kayak

E9-87—Born 1943. Father E9-85; whaleboat *umialik*, no kayak

E9-113—Born 1943. Father E9-130; disabled, no kayak

Young men of these ages would not be expected to own kayaks individually on the Belcher Islands; however, they would be expected at that age to share the use of the kayak belonging to an older kinsman in the household to which they belong. As can be seen from the table above, they are unlikely to receive the necessary training from their respective fathers, and as they are (with the exception of the orphan) the eldest sons in their respective families, a large proportion of their particular generation will likely break with tradition as regards kayak construction and hunting practices.

Of the forty-two hunters in the community, only two are yet to be accounted for.* One (E9-61) was noted by an earlier visitor to the Belcher Islands (Desgoffe, 1955) as having received a certain degree of recognition by outside economic and administrative agencies as a liaison between these agencies and the Belcher Island Ekimos. This man was formerly in charge of the Government-owned whaleboat placed on the islands for communal use, and in this particular capacity, as well as in being the representative of the trading company, he enjoyed prestige and some power in local matters. Later he was able to own a powered canoe. It is now several years since he owned a kayak, and although his wife and eldest daughter assisted in the manufacture of kayaks at the spring camp, he personally took no active interest whatsoever in any stage of the construction (e.g., Plate VA). This man would occasionally use his brother's kayak to tend fish nets or to go on other short journeys. He showed considerable interest in the writer's European-made collapsible kayak, using it on many occasions and expressing the desire to own a similar craft.

The second adult (E9-1) who appeared to have rejected the kayak had not been the owner, nor had he charge of a substitute hunting craft in earlier years. In 1957–58 he had part-ownership of an outboard motor used on another man's (E9-69) canoe. In 1959–60 the motor became irreparably damaged, and that year the man, by residing in the camp of an *umialik*[1] (E9-85), had the use of a whaleboat. The following year he joined the camp of another *umialik* (E9-1625) who owned a trap-boat. It appeared that as a younger man, this particular hunter had been removed from the Belcher Islands by the authorities; unfortunately, it was not discerned whether he owned a kayak at any time prior to the writer's visits; thus it is not possible to suggest any causes for his present marked indifference to the kayak.

DESCRIPTION OF THE KAYAK

The Frame

Up to the present time, machined wood has been in short supply for the Belcher Island Eskimo. For this reason principally, very little machined wood is used in the kayak frame.

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* Another hunter (E9-22) was absent from the Islands 1959–61.

[1] The *umialik* role on the Belcher Islands appears to have only slight sociological implications; it accords more with the status of boat-captain in our own society, than with the leader of a whaling crew in traditional Eskimo society (q. v. Spencer, 1959 p. 177—82).

A kayak frame is said to last five or six years. However, although at the end of that period or even before, considerable rebuilding will be necessary, certain components will be incorporated into the frame of the 'new' kayak. Thus, whereas it is claimed the ribs (*tipit*) and most of the longitudinal stringers will last only five years, the stouter longitudinal members, such as the gunwale, may last ten years. The ribs, however, may break at any time; repairs are effected each spring, either replacing or strengthening weakened parts of the frame.

The gunwale (*apumak*) and the keel (*natik*), by preference, are each shaped from a single piece of wood. The two longitudinal members (*natiurak*), one on each side of the keel, although shorter than the keel are also preferably of single lengths of wood.

The sides of the kayak are each composed of the gunwale at the top, the *sianuk* forming the angle between the side and the floor, and the *kulutik* between the gunwale and the *sianuk*.

The deck of the kayak is made up of a series of about thirteen equally spaced transverse ribs (*ara*) socketed into the top of the inner face of each gunwale. These ribs are absent in the centre of the deck, where the cockpit is situated. The rib (*masik*), placed at the centre of the deck and level with the front of the cockpit coaming (*paa*), is arched upward. The rib level with the back of the cockpit is flat but, together with the *masik*, is of much stouter build than the other deck ribs.

From the front of the cockpit, extending forward down the centre of the deck, is a single stringer, *kilakutik*. A single median stringer, *tunukjuk*, likewise extends from the back of the cockpit to the stern.

The cockpit coaming is made up of two pieces of wood in the form of a "D." One piece comprises the straight back of the coaming; the other a curved piece, the remainder. The coaming may be made up of machined wood in some cases, or, as in the case of the curved front part, of laminated construction. This is probably the most durable part of the completed kayak frame.

The Sealskin Covering

On the Belcher Islands, skins of the ringed seal are used almost invariably to cover the wooden frame. Eleven skins are generally required, seven on the hull and four on the deck. One other sealskin is required to provide the lashings needed on various parts of the kayak.

The skins for covering a kayak are preferably obtained in the spring of the year they are to be used. Since they are not generally dried or stretched before using, they, consequently, may be obtained in a few consecutive days' hunting.

As most of the re-covering of kayak frames takes place in the spring around the time of the sea-ice break-up, the choice of skins on the Belcher Islands is virtually limited to either ringed seal (*netchik*) or bearded seal (*utjuk*). Ranger seal (*kassigiak*) is very rarely taken except during the summer and fall seasons, and harp seal (*kriolik*) is present only very infrequently after break-up. White whale (*krilelugak*) and walrus (*aiverk*) are both considered unsatisfactory for the purpose, and in any case they also are found after break-up of the sea-ice.

The preference on the part of the Belcher Islander for ringed seal skins as opposed to those of the bearded seal to cover his kayak is in contrast to the more usual preference in the Eastern Arctic, where the bearded seal is preferred. It is asserted by the Islanders that the skin of the bearded seal is too heavy for the purpose; the more usual claim from other localities is that the ringed seal is too light. Thus, elsewhere in the Eastern Arctic, bearded seal may be replaced locally by harp seal (Hawkes, 1916) or by bladdernosed seal (Polar Record, 1934). The only reference to the preferred use of ringed seal is by Boas (1888); however, from the data he provided, it is evident that the skins in question were bearded seal, not ringed seal. No satisfactory explanation can be offered at this time for the sanctioning of ringed seal skins as the preferred kayak covering on the Belcher Islands. The availability of bearded seal appears to compare favourably with other Eastern Arctic locations (McLaren, 1958). However, it was observed that bearded seal taken by Belcher Island hunters under various hunting conditions (viz., from boats, from the shore, at winter breathing hole, and from nets) were all shared. It may be, therefore, that the division of the bearded seal carcass and skin, according to rigid sharing rules operative at any camp, renders the likelihood of one man possessing a sufficiency of skins to cover a kayak most improbable.

Another probable explanation concerns the weight of the kayak, an important consideration where portaging is frequently necessary (Birket-Smith, 1959: 82). Because of the numerous deeply indented bays and fjords with narrow bordering peninsulas between, kayak journeys on the Belcher Islands frequently include overland portages that effectively shorten the time spent travelling.

The Belcher Island situation seems to some extent comparable to that noted in the Dolphin and Union Strait region of the Western Arctic (Jenness, 1946: 7). In this latter situation, although bearded seal were numerous, an insufficiency was obtained by the Eskimo for all the purposes ideally requiring this sealskin. The two situations are similar in so far as the bearded seal is locally available, though not taken in great numbers by the local hunters. The points of dissimilarity in the present context are, first, that the Copper Eskimo acknowledges the superiority of bearded seal over ringed seal for the purpose of kayak covering, whereas the Belcher Islander does not; and secondly, that the kayak was unimportant to the Copper Eskimo (less than one man in ten owning a kayak frame, *ibid.*, p. 140) but is important to the Belcher Islander (almost half the men owning kayak frames).

To sew the skins together, a plaited thread is used. It consists of two strands of caribou sinew and one of cotton; it is called *pirkaa*. The thread used to sew the deck seams is thicker than that used to sew the seams on the hull.

Measurements Taken from a Sample Kayak

It appears that length is the most variable dimension in kayaks; they may vary not only between kayaks owned by different hunters, but also between successive kayaks owned by the same hunter. However, certain factors tend to stabilize the size of kayak owned by a given man. For example, the cockpit coaming and the supporting *masik* will continue on through several otherwise rebuilt kayak frames. In addition, the framework comprising the peaked bow (*sivuyak*) is seen to outlast other parts of the hull frame. The fact that kayaks are rebuilt continuously by annual repairs and replacement of components tends to stabilize their dimensions and diminishes the possibility that large changes in form will occur.

Length varied from 14 to 18 feet, with 16½ feet being a frequent length. Width was less variable, as was depth. Size of the cockpit and degree of upsweep of the bow appeared very constant.

A single kayak, appearing 'typical' of those seen, was measured; these data are set out below.

		ft.	*in.*	*No.*
Length:	overall	16	4	
	floor	13	0	
	bow to cockpit centre	9	6	
	stern to cockpit centre	6	10	
	cockpit opening	2	2	
Width:	greatest, across the deck	2	7	
	greatest, across the floor	1	10	
	cockpit opening	1	10	
Height:	floor to level afterdeck		10	
	floor to raised front of cockpit	1	3	
	cockpit (rim) coaming		2–2½	
	of peaked bow above deck level		5	
Number	of ribs:			22
	of transverse ribs on fore deck			7
	of transverse ribs on after deck			6
Space:	between successive ribs of hull		6	
	between successive longitudinal stringers below gunwhale		2½	
Paddle:	Length	9	3½	
	Blade width		3½	

A Local Variant, the Two-holed Kayak

A local variety of the conventional kayak appears to have been in use on the Belcher Islands during the last decade at least. This is the two-holed kayak, *kayapaakalik*, which had previously only received mention in one unpublished manuscript (Desgoffe, 1955*b*). Curiously it does not appear to have been noted in any earlier reports on the Belcher Island Eskimo (Turner, 1894; Leith and Leith, 1912; Flaherty, 1918, 1924; Renouf, 1921; Burwash, 1927; Twomey and Herrick, 1942).

Two Ungava Eskimo,[1] who moved to the Belcher Islands in 1953 and 1954 respectively, reported they saw two-holed kayaks for the first time on their arrival.

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[1] Kudloyak, E9-1625; Sam Crow, E9-259.

Four Islanders[1] who currently own the conventional type of one-hole kayak, were using *kayapaakalik* during the last decade. Two of these craft were used by father and son, and one by two brothers (E9-8 and E9-156). No information was obtained on the partnership in the fourth *kayapaakalik* (E9-19 and ?).

Unfortunately, no details were obtained on the manufacture or design of these kayaks; it appears from a model examined that each of the two men sat in a separate cockpit, one behind the other.

The reason given for the use of these craft on the Islands was the frequent bad weather and the attendant danger of being blown out to sea, a danger which locally constitutes a real risk on some coastal journeys.

The singular absence of reports of these craft from elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic makes the similarity to the local development on the Aleutian Islands of a two-holed *bidarky* that much more striking. In both localities, stormy isolated islands have produced a localized form of hunting craft, modified in a similar way from the basic and widely occurring hunting craft of the surrounding region. The Aleutian multiple *bidarky* appears to have spread to the adjacent southwest Alaskan coast (Seton Karr, in Rink 1888), whereas the Belcher Island development appears to be restricted to the Islands only.

MANUFACTURE OF THE KAYAK

Tools

Traditional tools in kayak building were the adze, bow drill, and curved knife, used by the men; and the semi-lunar knife and needles used by the women. It is possible that a definite hammer was used for driving home wooden or ivory dowels, although any handy stone with a flat surface would have served equally well. At present, the hand axe and the three-quarter-sized felling axe have taken the place of the traditional adze. The same name *ulimautik* applies to both implements. At least one iron adze is still used for rough-hewing the planks needed for kayaks and sleds. A small hand-saw is now also used for preparing the frame, its use being mostly limited to the trimming of lengths of wood. Splitting logs is carried out with the felling axe and wedges; wedges may be convenient pieces of stone or wood but more frequently the blade of a hand axe. A small pocket knife is the general utility tool used for small scale whittling, gouging, and planing motions. The iron wood-drill or, more frequently, the brace-and-bit has now totally replaced the traditional bow drill. A tool, which traditionally had no structural counterpart, is the plane. The whittling knife was the functional counterpart traditionally, and, as mentioned before, the pocket knife is used in lieu of a plane for small scale operations. Some men use the spokeshave, but this is for economic reasons rather than technological, as a plane is preferred. The iron hammer is now used with iron nails, in the frame construction. The semi-lunar knife and the store-bought needles are the steel counterparts of the traditional implements. A manufactured thimble is also used. Knives are used in preference to scissors in almost every task where the latter can be of service.

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[1] Kritusuk, E9-103; Noah, E9-75; Samuelie, E9-19; Moses, E9-159.

Woodworking and the Frame

There are no plans or evident measurements employed in the construction of a kayak. In spite of this, a single boat frame may be produced by the co-operative efforts of three or more men. The hewing of the keel or gunwales from a single log involves at least two days' intermittent labour, and consequently the work proceeds with greater facility if several men are engaged in the task.

A suitable supply of driftwood is collected during the spring; as mentioned earlier, the extent of annual renovation required will be variable, but once every six years the kayak is almost completely rebuilt. The sealskin lashing holding the frame will be replaced every two years; often during this operation, weakened parts of the wooden frame will be replaced.

Where possible, use is made of naturally curved timbers if the structure requires these shapes. For example, Plate IIIB shows the curve of the *sianuk* along the bottom of the kayak, and Plate IA illustrates the planks being hewn from a suitably shaped log. The *masik,* i.e. the curved rib supporting the front of the cockpit (Plate VA), is frequently cut from an elbow-shaped piece of wood.

To illustrate the woodworking techniques employed, an account of the production of the two symmetrical *sianut* and the ribs (*tipit*) will be given.

A slightly curved log, twelve to thirteen feet long, was split in two along its length, using a felling axe and a number of wedges. Each half-round length was pared to about two-inch thickness with a felling axe; then a hand axe and adze were used to further reduce the thickness to almost an inch and a half (Plate IA). The two planks were now superimposed, and a large iron nail was driven through each end to hold them together. Subsequent shaping resulted in good symmetrical correspondence (Plate IB). However, the degree of natural curving of these two planks was not sufficient for the form of the kayak, and to facilitate more extreme curving cuts were made with a small hand-saw as follows: About three feet from each end of the *sianuk,* an oblique cut was made through the concave face of the plank, upward toward the convex face. This cut goes a little over halfway from the concave to convex face. A second, converging cut is made an inch below the first, and the result is the removal of a wedge of wood from the *sianuk.* This procedure enables a more acute bending of the wood, without placing a great strain on the ribs to which the *sianuk* is lashed. This cutting operation is repeated between the first cut and the end of the plank.

To hold the *sianuk* in place, two holes are drilled through it where each rib touches. A groove about a quarter of an inch deep is gouged out between the holes so that the lashing of sealskin is effectively countersunk below the surface. This preserves the lashing from damage and allows the *sianuk* to be planed smooth once it is lashed in place (Plate IIIB).

The sealskin lashings that are used on the wooden frame of the kayak are collectively *kilarotik*. Certain lashings to be mentioned later will join wood to sealskin (*paliutik*) or sealskin to sealskin (*tututik*). The ribs are constructed as follows: Laths of wood, elliptical in cross-section, are prepared by repeated splitting of logs or smaller spars of up to four feet in length. Most of the subsequent paring to size is carried out with a pocket knife. The ribs, when reduced to the correct size, are about one inch wide and about three-quarters of an inch thick. To facilitate the bending of the ribs, they are placed for several minutes in boiling water, to which has been added seal blubber or bear fat. The purpose of this additive was not discovered. At this stage only one end of the rib has been shaped to fit into the receiving socket on the lower edge of the gunwale. The rib is removed from the boiling water and tested for the correct degree of softening by bending it, using the mouth as the fulcrum. If it is found to be at the required state of plasticity, it is placed in the socket on the gunwale and is gently bent, *in situ* (Plate IIB). The rib only requires being held in place for about two or three minutes, after which time it may be removed and the other end treated similarly.

Frequently during the bending of the centrally placed ribs or those at the extreme end positions, fracturing occurs at the angles. These fractures are most often of the 'greenstick' type, and the ribs are not discarded. If the fracture is more acute, a splint may be lashed alongside to help strengthen the weakness. In fact, the lashing of the *sianuk* along the angle of the ribs on each side (Plate IIIB) satisfactorily shields this position of potential weakness from further damage.

The ribs are held in place in the sockets of the gunwales by means of one or two iron nails.

As can be seen from certain of the Plates, some of the longer parts of the frame may be made up of more than one piece of wood. This is to be expected, as long straight driftwood logs, up to eighteen feet in length, will not frequently be encountered. The gunwale in Plate IIB is made up of two pieces of wood, and in Plate IIIA it can be seen to have been increased in length by splicing in a small insert. In both cases, as the gunwale is an important part of the frame, it is evident that care has been exercised in joining the constituent parts. In Plate IIIB, on the other hand, the relatively unimportant stringer (*kulutik*) below the gunwale is made up of three casually overlapping short lengths of wood.

* * *

The order in which the frame of a kayak is assembled from the prepared component parts is as follows:

Deck ribs are mortised into the gunwales and secured by nails. The longitudinal deck stringers, running along the centre of the fore-and-after decks, are next lashed into place. The assembled deck is then turned over, and the holes are prepared for the ribs. After steaming, the ribs are placed into these sockets and secured by nails. The keelson is now lashed into place. The peaked prow (*sivuyak*) is then added, and the stern post (*ittivik*) fixed into place. A complicated lashing is used at the prow (*oshurak*) and stern positions (*akkrorak*) to hold the converging stringers in place. At the prow, this lashing (*nutuarutik*) holds the keelson, gunwale (*sianuk*), and deck stringer together. A second lashing (*patitutik*) independently holds the upswept prow to the stem post (*nutaa*).

The sides of the kayak frame are completed by lashing the *kulutik* in place between the gunwale and *sianuk*, and then the bottom of the kayak (*avaluak*) is completed by lashing the *natiurak* to the ribs.

The Sealskins and the Sealskin Covering

Nearly all the tasks connected with the treatment, sewing, and fixing of the skins to the kayak frame, are undertaken by women. The men do the skinning of the seals they shoot and later undertake tensioning the skins over the hull by means of the lashings (*tututik*) across the deck (Plate VA).

The skins with the blubber attached are removed by the usual skinning operation, generally made with a pocket knife. The mid-ventral incision extends the full length of the seal and, laterally, round the bases of the two hind-flippers; the fore-flippers are left on the skin.

The blubber is removed by means of the semi-lunar knife and a scraping board. This and subsequent operations in the manufacture of the kayak covering are wholly in the hands of the women. After blubber removal, the skin is rolled up and kept in the tent for several days. It is then unrolled, and the now loosened hair is scraped free, using the semi-lunar knife. The blubber side may be inspected for remaining pieces of fat which will be removed with the knife. The skin is rinsed but is not stretched or dried. At this point, the black epidermis appears loosened, but it is not sufficiently so to be wholly removed during the de-hairing process.

The skins are now matched for sewing together—the larger in the centre, the smaller skins to the ends. The skins are joined nose to tail, and although the tops and bottoms are cut so that the joining seams run straight, the sides are not trimmed, nor are the fore-flippers yet removed from the skins.

The sewing at this stage is carried out indoors, and several women, not necessarily kinswomen of the kayak owner, will co-operate. The seven sealskins covering the hull section of the frame are called *amik*. These extend to a variable degree on the deck, in the bow and stern positions mainly. The smaller number of skins required to cover the deck are *ussik*, and the sections lateral to the cockpit, *ikrarutik*.

The sewing of waterproof seams is similar in principle on both the hull and the deck. The technique consists of a double overlapping seam, in which the needle does not penetrate the outer of the two overlapped skins, but only the inner (protected) ply. However, there is a slight difference between the seams used on the *amik* and *ussik*. The difference stems from the fact that as the skins for the hull are sewn from the 'inside' of the kayak frame, the seams are almost invisible on the hull of the completed kayak, whereas the seams on the deck skins, being sewn completely from 'without,' are that much more visible. These seams, *amairnik* on the hull, and *wiuk* on the deck, are both waterproof without the use of blood or grease as caulking agents.

After sewing the skins together to form the hull covering, they are placed over the bottom of the upturned kayak frame (Plate IVA). The ends are gathered around the stem and stern posts, and the deck lashings (*tututik*) threaded through small slits cut through the edges of the skins where they overhang the gunwales. After an initial tightening of the *tututik,* the frame is then turned over, the lashings are again checked, and the seam is sewn along the centre of the prow. The sewing throughout is in the hands of the women, and the stretching of the skins by means of the *tututik* is in the hands of the men. This stretching is a gradual, continuous process which must be completed before the deck skins can be sewn into place (Plates IVB and VA).

When the deck skins have been sewn, the coaming is lashed on and the skins surrounding the cockpit are lashed tightly to the inside of the wooden cockpit rim. This last lashing is *paliutik*.

The kayak is completed by sewing two thongs (*taka*) across the deck in front of the cockpit, and a single thong behind the cockpit coaming (Plate VIA).

SOME ASPECTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE ASSOCIATED WITH THE KAYAK

It is realized that such activities as kayak manufacture and hunting will include social as well as technological processes. However, the scope of this paper will be restricted almost entirely to those non-sociological aspects of what, for convenience, might be termed the 'kayak-complex.' Certain observations and inferences on ownership patterns will be included but only with regard to the effect they exert on the kayak-complex. Changing patterns of ownership may have profound effects on societal organization in the future (*see*, e.g., Berreman, 1954).

In attempting to evaluate change, a hypothetical starting point of 'cultural purity,' or stability, needs be defined. Undoubtedly the Belcher Island community has never enjoyed a long period of cultural homogeneity. For several centuries the population has, in large measure, been made up of immigrants from the East Main, Hudson Strait, and Ungava Bay. It has also been suggested that the ancestors of the present population co-existed with Thule culture Eskimos who formerly inhabited the Islands along the East Main (Desgoffe, 1955). The earliest demographic information concerning the Belcher Islands lists twenty of the twenty-five families as "recent immigrants" (Flaherty, 1918). At present, immigrants, i.e., those Eskimos not born on the Islands, comprise less than ten per cent of the population, collectively known as the *krigikrtagmiut*.

Accepting the diverse origins of the ancestors of the present Island population and their continual cultural contact with members of different Ungava tribes, the only 'traditional' Island culture one can postulate for the present purpose is that continuing pattern of existence possessed by the Belcher Island community at a time prior to sustained culture contact with agencies of Euro-Canadian origin.

The earliest material acquisition from these agencies was probably firearms, as iron tools could have occurred much earlier through trading with mainland tribes. Only fairly sustained direct contact with white agencies would allow the comparative continuity of contact necessary for firearms to become established to the point where the bow and arrow became obsolete. This occurred, as I have discussed earlier, probably during the first decade of this century. After that time, owing to the acquired dependence on trade goods, contact became more regular, though remaining distant. In 1928 trading started on the Islands themselves, but the effect of this was merely to accentuate changes already initiated and widely established. In 1933, however, the establishment of a resident white trader at a new location on the Islands caused fundamental alterations in population disposition for at least part of the community. The now proximate contact with powerful acculturating forces not only accelerated earlier changes but was instrumental in producing new socio-political and economic emphases of a profound nature (Desgoffe, 1955). In addition to continuing contact with the trading organization, occasional visits from missionaries, police officers, doctors, surveyors, scientists, prospectors, and other visitors have taken place since the early part of the century (for partial bibliography, *see* Desgoffe, 1955*b*). The manner in which even the briefest of visits may disturb cultural equilibrium has been examined in the Belcher Island context (Desgoffe, 1955).

It is against this background of continuing cultural change that we seek to discuss known changes in the kayak-complex.

Changes in Kayak Utilization

The present position of the kayak in native technology, compared to the place it occupied in pre-contact society, results from several contributory factors. Foremost among these is the introduction of manufactured boats, which only during this last decade has begun to displace the over-all dependence of the community on the kayak for a number of important purposes. Whaleboats have now taken over most communication functions formerly carried out by the kayak. The disappearance of the two-man kayak, the raft constructed from several kayaks, the catamaran, and kayak sails is most probably the direct result of whaleboat usage on the Islands.

None of these changes can be regarded as irreversible, but they represent changing fashion following on technological improvements.

For hunting purposes, the kayak remains of paramount importance to most men. The motorized canoe, rather than the whaleboat, will undoubtedly reduce the place of the kayak in the future. At present, canoes have only partially replaced the kayak in practice. Canoes, even if present, are not generally used for floe-edge hunting in the winter and spring, for example. Indirectly, however, canoes are presently a powerful instrument of change; their possession in families may effectively alienate the rising generation from familiarity with several differing phases of kayak technology and practice. Thus, the changes to be expected from increased usage of canoes will, to some degree, be irreversible.

Prior to the appearance of manufactured boats on the Islands, changing emphases had occurred in some aspects of kayak utilization; these can be traced indirectly to the introduction of the rifle.

Probably the most profound alteration in recent years in the pattern of subsistence (not including the very recent wage-earning opportunities) has been the decreasing importance of the walrus in the native economy. Walrus hunting commonly occurred in the spring at the floe-edge; the introduction of rifles obviated the need for systematic walrus hunting at this time. The reasons were many, but probably foremost was the new-found facility of obtaining seal on the fast-ice; seals provided not only a sufficiency of meat for immediate requirements, but also a preferred oil which was stored for winter use; moreover, sealskins were now an important item of trade. Thus, the increasing need for seals and the decreasing ivory technology resulted in a shift of at least part of the population away from systematic walrus hunting.

In total, however, the rifle has probably enhanced the status of kayak hunting among the sea-mammal hunters of the Belcher Islands. The rifle increases the effectiveness of hunting from the kayak a small animal such as a ringed seal, or a timid animal such as a ranger seal. Socially, the rifle and kayak combination has not produced marked changes. On account of the nature of resources and sea-ice conditions, hunting on the Belcher Islands has always tended to favour individual rather than group hunting practices, and the rifle encourages the continuation of these particular production techniques.

Changes in Kayak Manufacture

The raw materials used in kayak construction are much the same now as in pre-contact society. The use of drift-wood is still preferred in most cases, though non-availability of alternative supplies has severely limited the opportunities for change. The choice of sealskins as well as their method of preparation has suffered no apparent change. The plaited thread used in sewing the skins contains imported cotton thread, and some iron nails are commonly used in place of wood, ivory, or antler dowels.

Now, the tools used in construction are all imported. It is possible that iron axes, adzes, and knives were in use at least a century ago on the Islands, but the use of the plane or spokeshave and iron drill is more recent. Bow drills of traditional design were in use two decades ago (Twomey and Herrick, 1942), and in 1960 less than half the Island families owned any form of imported plane. Locally-made wooden-bodied planes are commonly in winter use for smoothing mud sledge-runners. These simple but effective planes may have preceded the actual ownership of iron planes by the Islanders, whose lack of technological advance is patently the result of their low economic potential. The hand-saw and the hammer are dispensable tools but have probably been optionally employed since trading commenced. Tools are freely lent, and it is to be expected that the common usage of a tool by the greater part of the population will considerably predate the widespread individual ownership of the implement.

Iron semi-lunar knives and iron needles, being more essential household implements and also more strictly personal property, would, in the main, predate the establishment of regular trading relationships with Euro-Canadian agencies; they would be obtained during infrequent barter transactions with mainland tribes, newly arrived immigrants, or traders.

Changes in Kayak Equipment

We have already noted that a change has occurred in the sealing implements used in hunting from the kayak. The loss of the sealskin float and the kayak-stand for holding the harpoon line have both been fairly recent occurrences, probably during the last two decades.

At present no special clothes are worn during kayak hunting. The sealskin pants and parka observed two decades ago (Twomey and Herrick, 1942) are no longer worn as summer clothing. A white cotton parka cover may be used for partial concealment when ice is present (Plate VIB). There are no special kayak mitts or gloves in use.

Kayak sails, as mentioned earlier, have now disappeared from use. Their loss probably corresponds to the loss of importance of the kayak for non-hunting activities.

Changes Occurring in Kayak Ownership

One may infer from the foregoing remarks on ownership that in the past almost every independent hunter in good health had the use of a kayak, either individually owned or by virtue of a mutually recognized sharing partnership.

To a large extent, simple economics explained the ownership pattern. No household[1] was likely to own more than one kayak, though several households contained two adult hunters. Some individual households were not completely independent with regard to the ownership of all essential equipment; it is seen that these households became more closely linked in mutually beneficial economic partnerships with other households. These partnerships would usually be among close relatives, most commonly between siblings.

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[1] Household refers to those people living in a dwelling unit having a single entrance. The number and composition of households may vary seasonally.

For example, the table presented below indicates that the kayak sharing between siblings was, in fact, part of a broader economic partnership that included dogs and sledges. To aid in understanding the table, it should be remembered that iron shoeing on sled runners is essential for spring and fall travel, and that the average dog team on the Belcher Islands comprises seven or eight dogs.

TABLE 1. *Details of kayak sharing among siblings*

Kayak Sharing Partners	Number of Working Dogs		Sled Runners
	1959–60	1960–61	
Samuelie, E9–19	8	11	No iron shoeing
Johnasiapik, E9–18	4	6	Iron shoeing
Ohaytok, E9–59	5	8	Iron shoeing
Johnasie, E9–56	2	2	No iron shoeing

Whereas until recently the non-possession of a kayak was primarily an indication of low economic standing in the community, during the last decade the introduction of manufactured boats, although of rare occurrence on the Belcher Islands, has resulted in termination of kayak-ownership being now additionally correlated with enhanced economic standing.

The canoe-owning Belcher Islanders have almost invariably relinquished the kayak in favour of the canoe. On the other hand, men having economic interest in the whaleboats have not completely rejected the kayak in all cases. The reasons for the different effect canoes and whaleboats have on kayak usage and ownership are connected with the differing role the two types of craft play in the life of the Belcher Island Eskimo.

The whaleboat plays very little part directly in the productive phase of the annual subsistence economy. The importance of this type of boat in seasonal migration is considerable, and together with strictly financial enterprises it does contribute, though indirectly, a large part to the over-all annual economy. In fact, the importance of the whaleboat is connected in large part with certain new emphases, mostly outside the scope of this paper.

On the other hand, the canoe can be used with good effect in all productive phases of the subsistence economy. It thus competes with the kayak, and its adoption represents a progression toward a more efficient exploitation of the environment. The canoe can easily be adopted as a substitute for the kayak without any great social repercussions. In the main, canoes will be family property or individual property in the same way as kayaks may be individually owned or shared.

Whaleboats have directly produced a number of changes in Belcher Island society. It is not proposed to examine the changing camp structure based on property rights resulting from a shared whaleboat, or the captain-crew relationships. However, one may note the presence of a whaleboat has caused social friction at one camp. In 1958 thirteen households camped together during the open-water season, sharing the use of a whaleboat. Owing to unresolved economic and personality differences concerning the management of this boat, the camp consisted of nine families the following season and six families in 1960. Two separate camps have become established some distance from the original camp, composed of those families voicing strongest disapproval of the former situation. It is suggested that problems such as this, which, although extreme, is not unique on the Islands, may result in part from the absence of the formalized *umialik* role in recent Belcher Island history. The lack of both traditional precedent and the newer leadership ideal, implanted by acculturating agencies as at other communities, has left the novel situation of boat captain open to local interpretation. Presumably in time the problem would have resolved itself; however, in 1959 a Port Harrison Eskimo arrived from the mainland with his whaleboat. Communal hunting in large power-boats has for some time been institutionalized at Port Harrison (Twomey and Herrick, 1942; Willmott, 1961) and is in strong contrast with the more individually pursued hunting techniques of the Belcher Island kayaker. The hunting returns of this newly arrived whaleboat are convincingly superior to those of the other local whaleboats, and it may be expected that from the successful prototype cast by this recent immigrant (E9-1731) there will probably arise a new figure in Belcher Island society, the formalized *umialik,* representing an influential leader in economic affairs.

CONCLUSION

The place of the kayak in the contemporary technology of an Eskimo group in the Eastern Canadian Arctic has been examined, and it has been found that certain developments, for example the two-holed kayak and the use of kayak sails, indicate the localized nature of the technology on the Belcher Islands, at least until recently.

Environmental factors that include the relative abundance of marine mammals, the paucity of foxes and the absence of caribou, and the economic and hence social conditions patterned by these basic factors, together with the comparatively great geographical and cultural isolation of the Islands, have all combined to reduce the amount of cultural change hitherto experienced on the Islands. Cultural changes, although admittedly profound, have proceeded gradually for most of the Islands' population since the introduction of the rifle at the beginning of this century. During those times, when culture contact was most intense, it occurred intermittently and for relatively brief periods. Only now is intense culture contact of a sustained nature effectively bringing new pressures to bear on the community as a whole.

Formerly, it was most probable that in the then new post-contact technology the role of the kayak had not been substantially reduced. The introduction of the rifle has tended to render the kayak hunter more effective as a producer; the new economy, demanding, as it did, greater hunting returns, would ensure that skill in kayak hunting remained a prerequisite for a satisfying social existence. Thus the productive phases of the local economy continued to be characterized for the most part by largely individual practices as before. Although the kayak has recently suffered replacement in certain of its functions by power-boats, it appears to have remained of prime importance in sea-mammal hunting, a situation perhaps unique in the Canadian Arctic at this time. Apart from the effectiveness of the kayak for this particular purpose, the main reasons for the continued widespread use of kayaks on the Belcher Islands are threefold:

1. *Economic.* The Islanders have in the past been unable to finance any sustained change to motorized hunting boats.
2. *Sociological.* The change from individualized to co-operative hunting practices using power-boats has not occurred without certain hostile social interactions in some cases (the underlying causes of these being new economic situations the society failed to satisfactorily resolve). Thus in the absence of institutionalized leadership, the new groupings necessary for effective production have not become established.
3. *Technological.* The use of power craft for hunting has inherent limitations, particularly when the finances for proper maintenance and frequent usage are not readily available.

The above factors in combination have resulted in disappointingly poor results from the limited power-boat hunting practised on the Belcher Islands. Present indications are that economic pressures are less likely to be as severe in the future as they undoubtedly have been for most of the past,[1] and that following the recent establishment and recognition of a formalized *umialik*, the social problems mentioned above may well resolve themselves.

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[1] Average annual income per family from all sources; i.e., fox furs, sealskin products, allowances, wages, and carvings:

Prior to 1953:	$103–$153	(from Desgoffe, 1955b)
1953–54:	$501.50	(from Desgoffe. 1955b)
1959–60:	$880	(from author's field notes).

It has been seen that the effect power-boats have on the use of kayaks differs with respect to whether it is the powered canoe or whaleboat under discussion. A canoe-owning hunter will no longer require the use of a kayak. The change from kayak to canoe represents an advance in hunting efficiency, and, provided the new economy can sustain the change, the move is likely to prove irreversible. Whaleboats at present appear to be less likely to supersede the kayak in a hunting economy.[1]

Thus the future position of the kayak in the technology of the Belcher Island Eskimo will depend on changing patterns of existence brought about directly by new socio-economic forces, and in a small, indirect measure only, by those continuing environmental factors that previously favoured the production and innovation of the kayak.

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[1] A shift from hunting to netting marine mammals would tend to overcome certain limitations of whaleboats in productive phases of the economy.

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APPENDIX

KAYAK STATUS OF MALES* AGED 17 YEARS AND OVER, RESIDENT ON THE BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., DURING 1959–61

Name	*Registration No.*	*Age in 1960*	*Kayak Status*	*Remarks*
Isa Amitook	E9–1	44	No kayak	
Alex Apwakok	E9–8	45	No kayak	Owns canoe
Alex	E9–10	17	No kayak	Son of E9–8
Jimmy Ekelook	E9–15	75	No kayak	Infirm
Johnassie Ekelook	E9–18	26	Shared kayak with brother E9–19	
Samwillie	E9–19	31	Owns kayak	
Moses Meeko	E9–22	30	?	In hospital
Johnassie Mannuk	E9–24	31	Owns kayak	
Davidie Kupvik	E9–31	25	Owns kayak	
Samisah Meeko	E9–32	21	Shared kayak with brother E9–31	Full-time wage employment commenced September 1960
Moses Empuk	E9–34	44	No kayak	Infirm
Alex	E9–36	20	Owns kayak	Son of E9–34
Lucassie Kittosook	E9–51	32	Owns kayak	
Eliassie Kupveet	E9–54	61	No kayak	Infirm
Johnassie Manomee	E9–56	44	Shared kayak with brother E9–59	
Lucassie Ohaytook	E9–59	39	Shared kayak with brother E9–56	
Lucassie Newalinga	E9–61	47	No kayak	
Samisah Meeko	E9–66	61	No kayak	Infirm (died 4-11-61)
Johnny Meeko	E9–68	27	Owns kayak	
Peter Nerhalik	E9–69	56	No kayak	Owned canoe (Died 5-7-60)
Timothy	E9–73	18	No kayak	Son of E9–69
Noah Aragutiana	E9–75	46	Owns kayak	
Joe	E9–78	24	Shared kayak with father E9–75	
Simeonee Okpik	E9–84	32	Owns kayak	
Joe Emitkotailak	E9–85	42	No kayak	Infirm. Whaleboat *umialik*
Moses	E9–87	17	No kayak	Son of E9–85
Daniel Soolooksook	E9–97	34	Owns kayak	
Lucassie Kittosook	E9–103	52	Owns kayak	Whaleboat *umialik*
Charley Kenora	E9–109	33	No kayak; shared with father E9–103	
Isaac Tookalook	E9–113	30	Owns kayak	
Lucassie Tadlawrok	E9–117	18	No kayak	Orphan; no fixed residence
Johnassie Tookalla	E9–121	48	No kayak	Infirm
Johnassie	E9–124	25	Owns kayak	Son of E9–121
Tavitee Kapvik	E9–130	45	No kayak	Infirm

KAYAK STATUS OF MALES* AGED 17 YEARS AND OVER, RESIDENT ON THE BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., DURING 1959-61 (Concluded)

Name	*Registration No.*	*Age in 1960*	*Kayak Status*	*Remarks*
Johnny	E9–133	17	No kayak	Son of E9–130 (Died 1-11-61)
Josie Unganuk	E9–139	49	No kayak	Infirm
Paulossie Ikidlak	E9–142	26	Owns kayak	
Johnassie Silayook	E9–147	25	Shared kayak with step-father E9–75	
Paulossie	E9–149	30	No kayak	Infirm
Lucassie Inaktuluk	E9–150	26	Owns kayak	
Moses Apwakok	E9–156	29	Owns kayak	
Sam crow	E9–259	57	No kayak	Owns canoe
Jobbie	E9–263	22	No kayak	Son of E9–259
Jimmy Kudlayook	E9–1625	ca.48	No kayak	Trap-boat *umialik* (Died 2-11-61)
Charley Kigilak	E9–1628	27	Owns kayak	
Josie Unarluk	E9–1731	ca.40	No kayak	Whaleboat *umialik*
Thomassie Kowcharlie	E9–1729	?	No kayak	Immigrant from Ungava, July 1960

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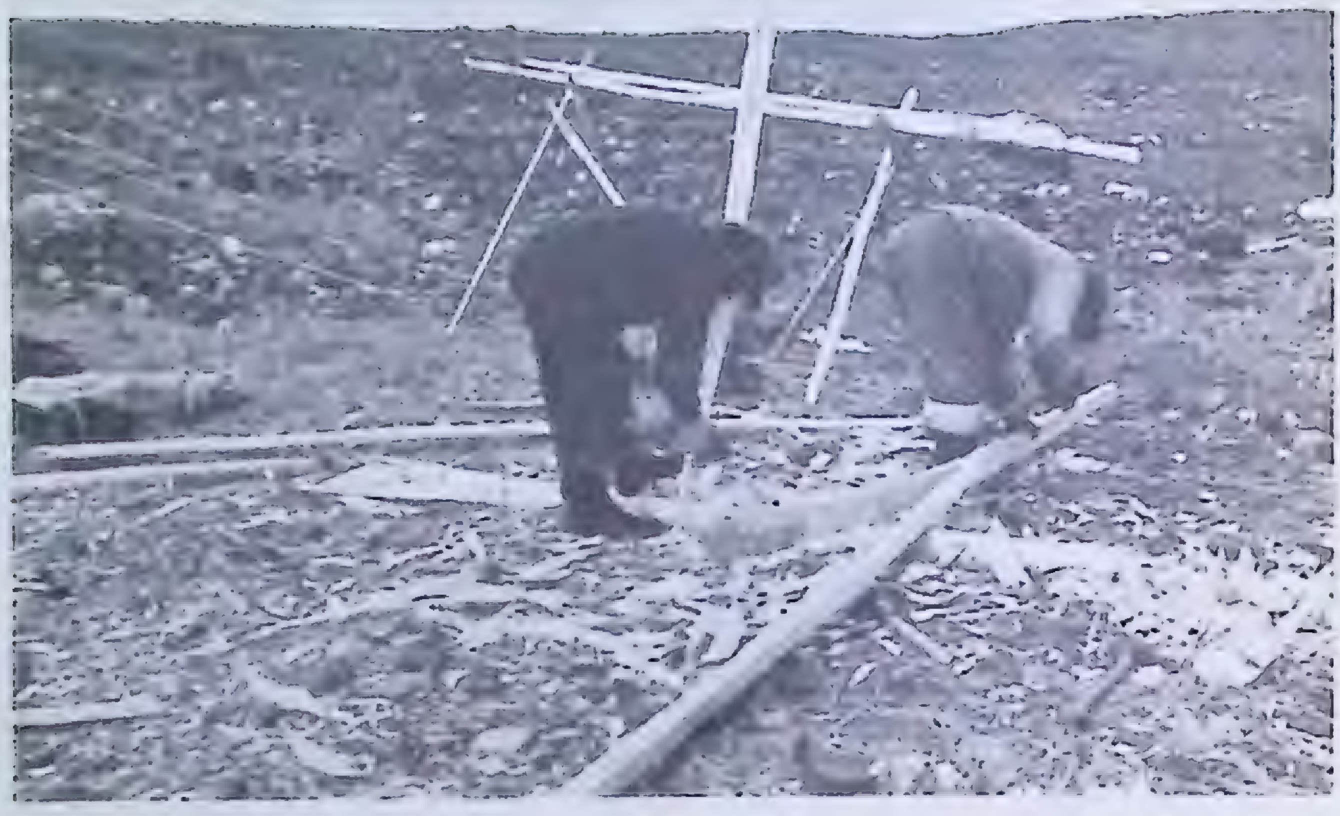
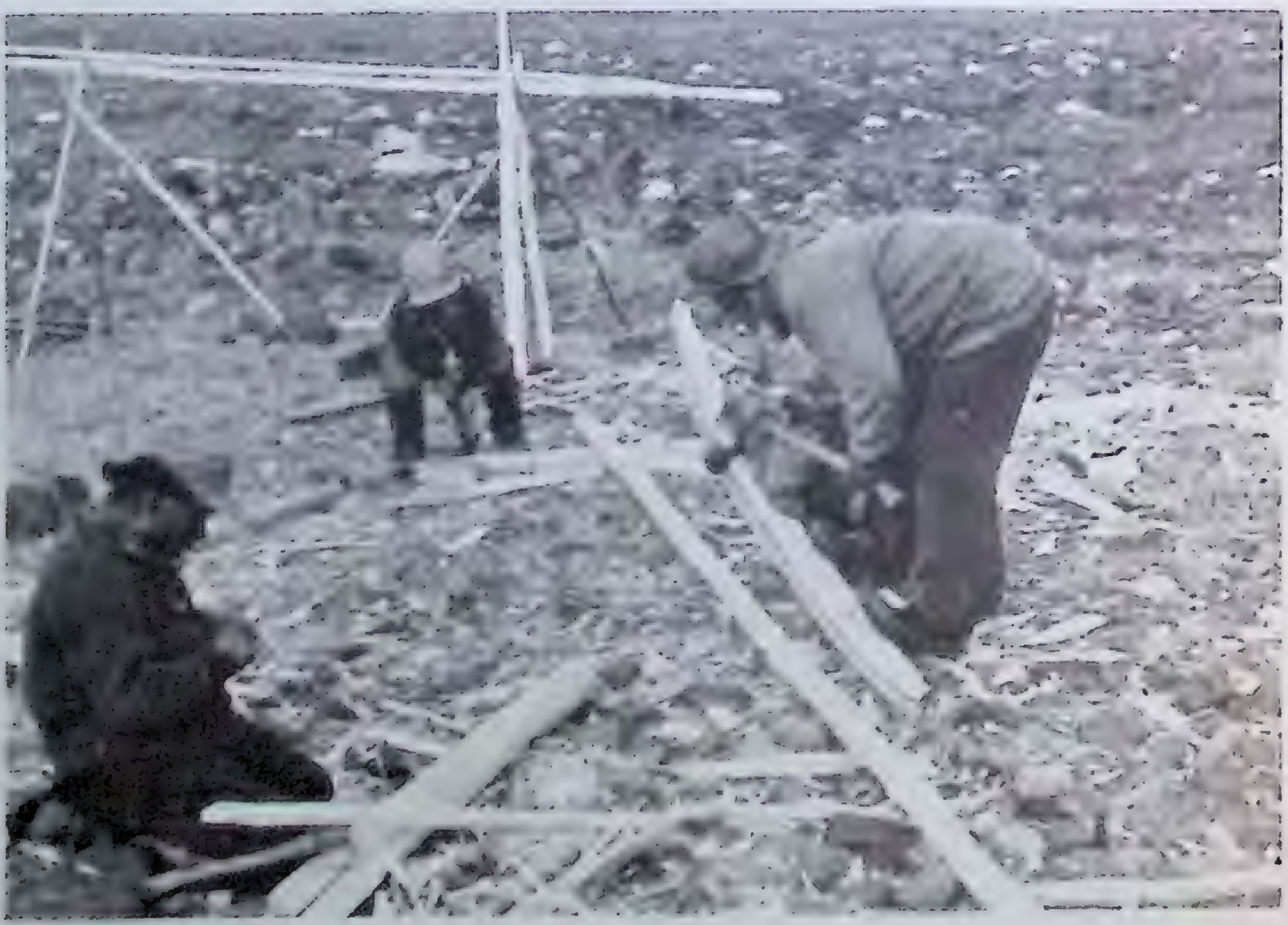
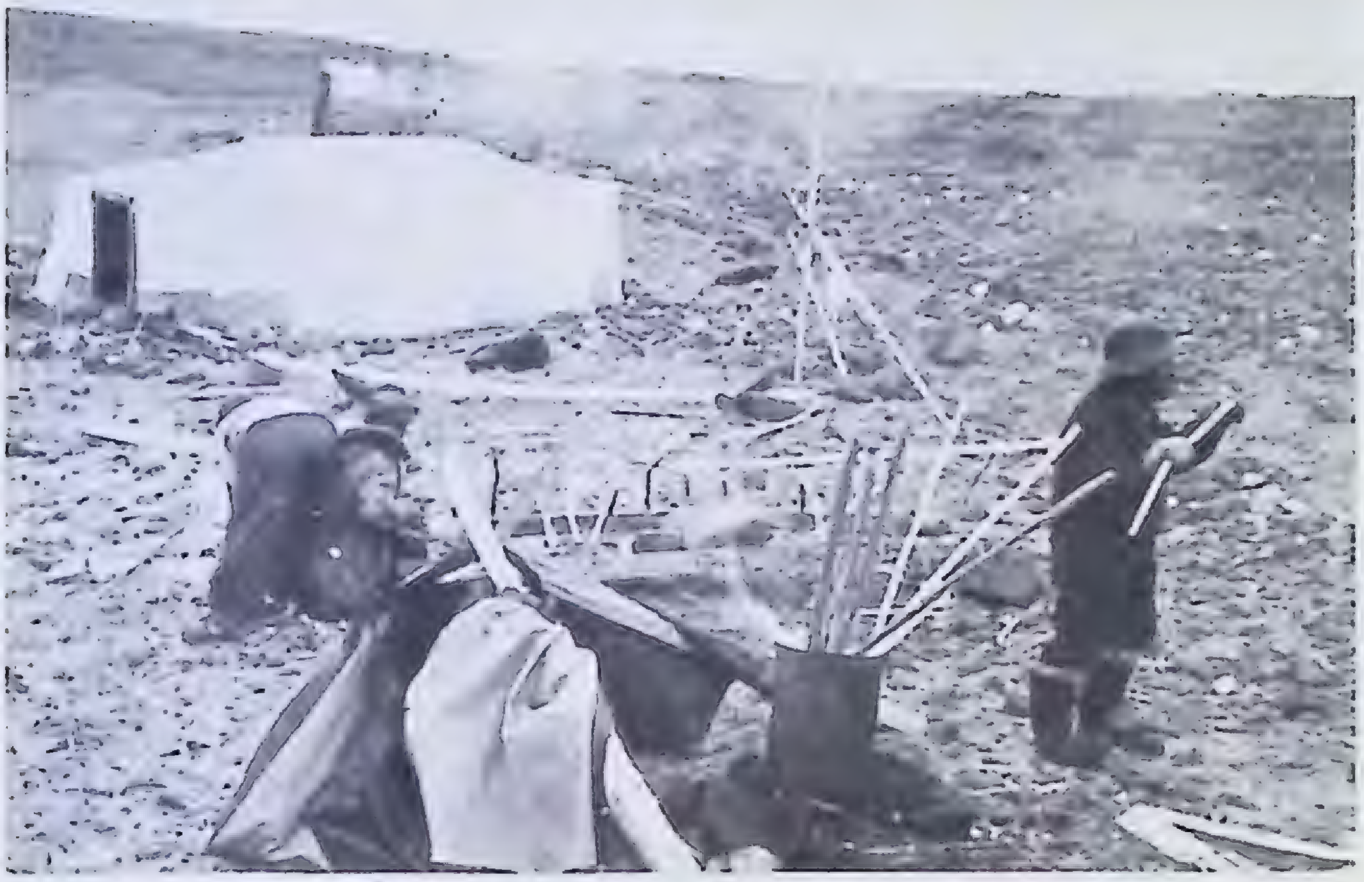
* The spelling of names in this list is according to the 1960 Belcher Island census list. Registration numbers are provided to facilitate identification of individuals. Hunters aged 25 years or less live in their father's household, unless otherwise stated.



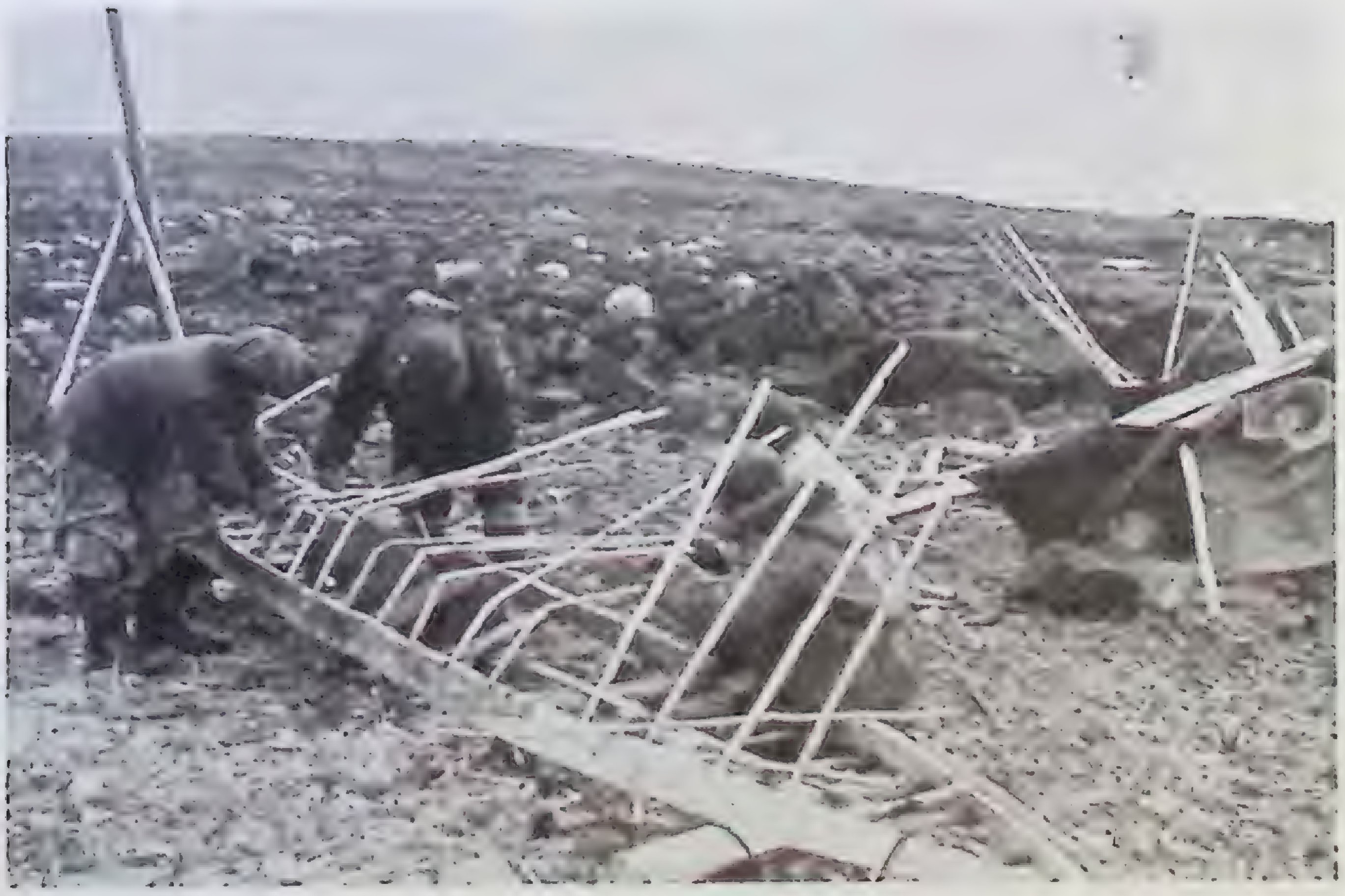
A. Hewing planks for kayak construction



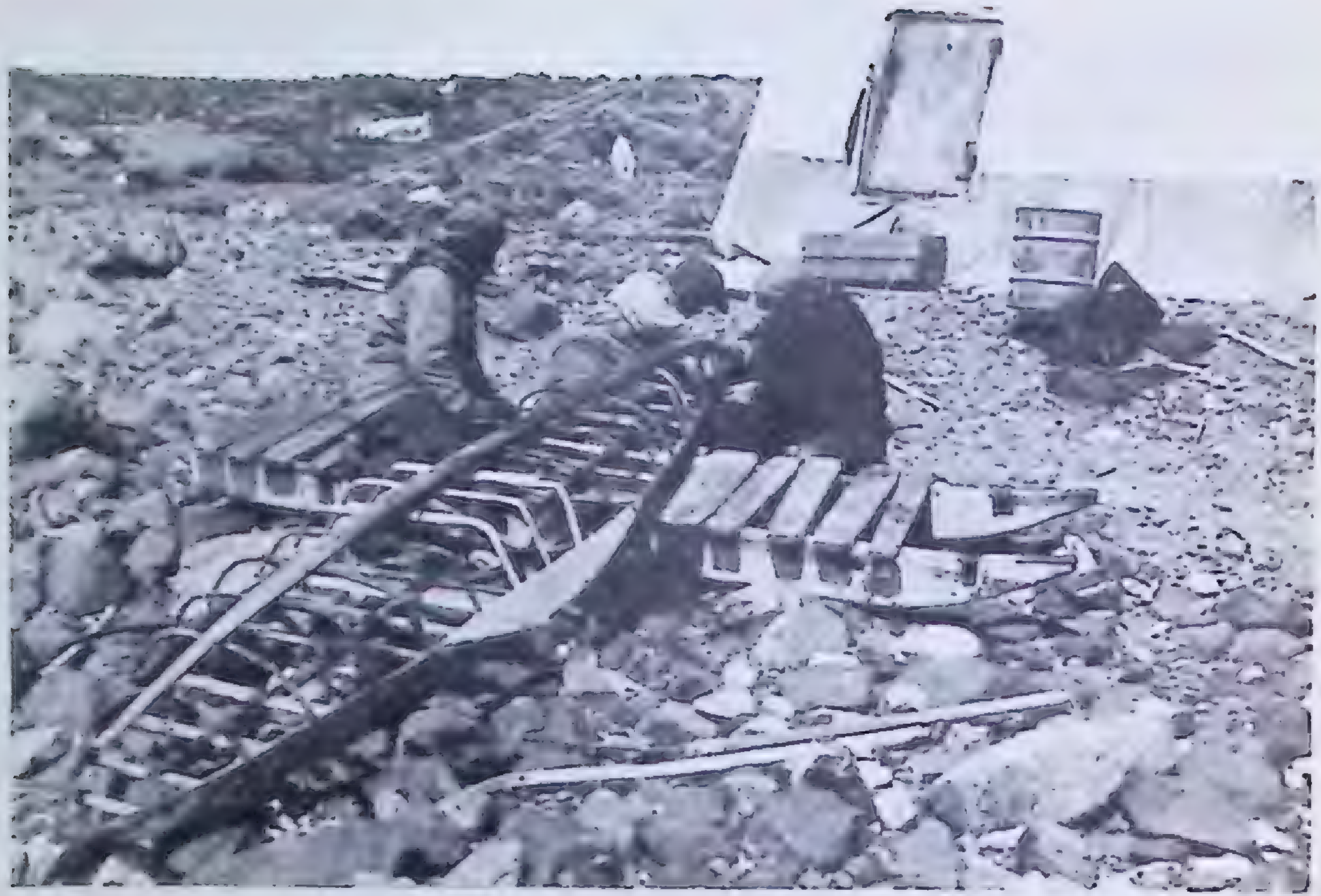
B. Shaping two symmetrical kayak components by superimposing planks hewn from a single log.



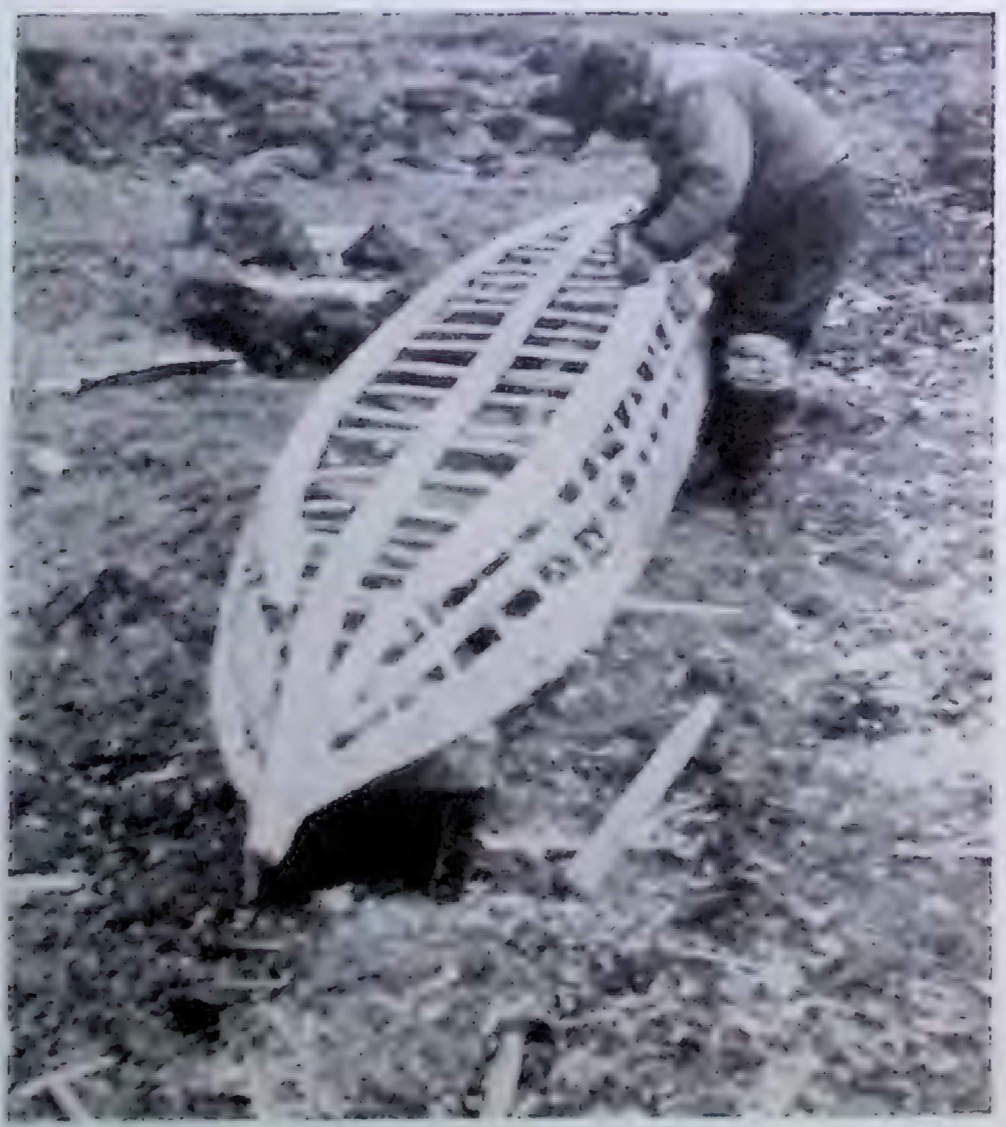
A. Testing the wooden laths for plasticity during heat treatment



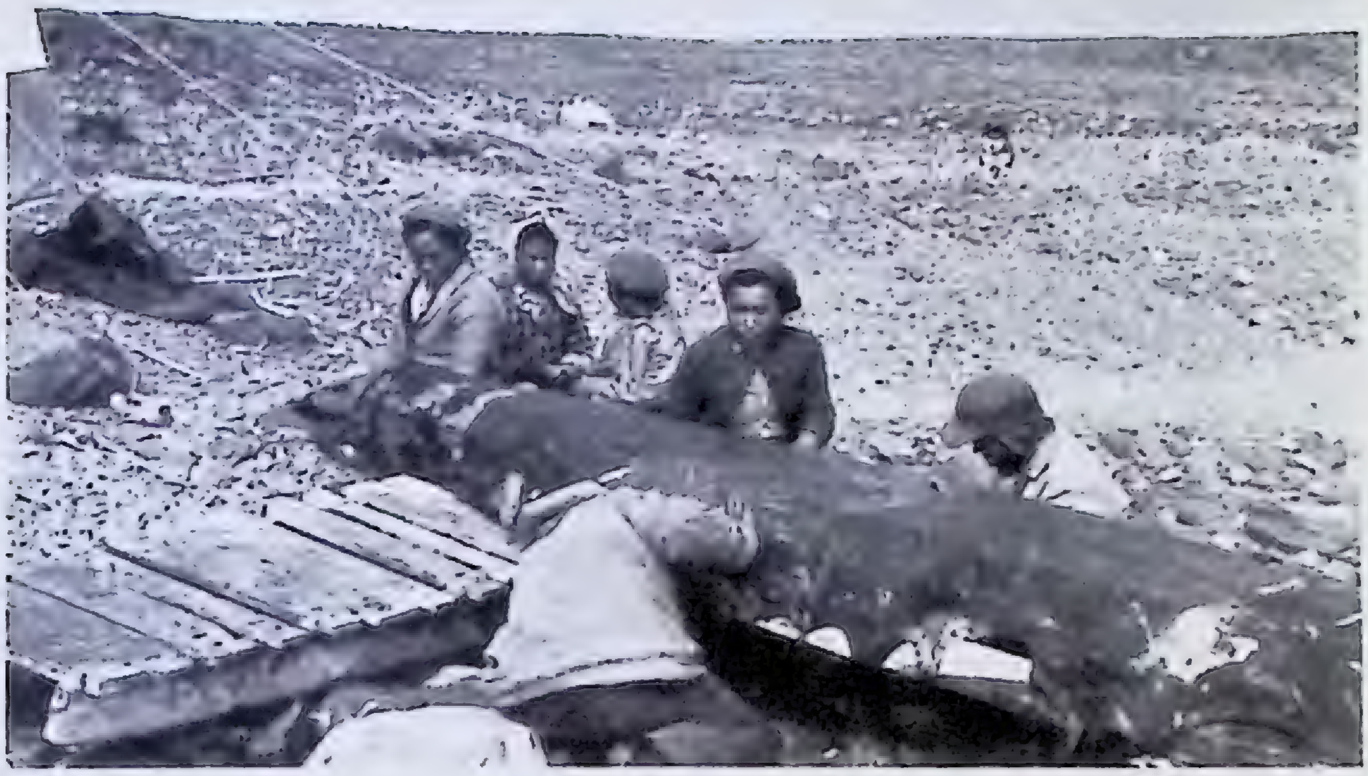
B. Shaping the ribs after heat treatment of the wooden laths



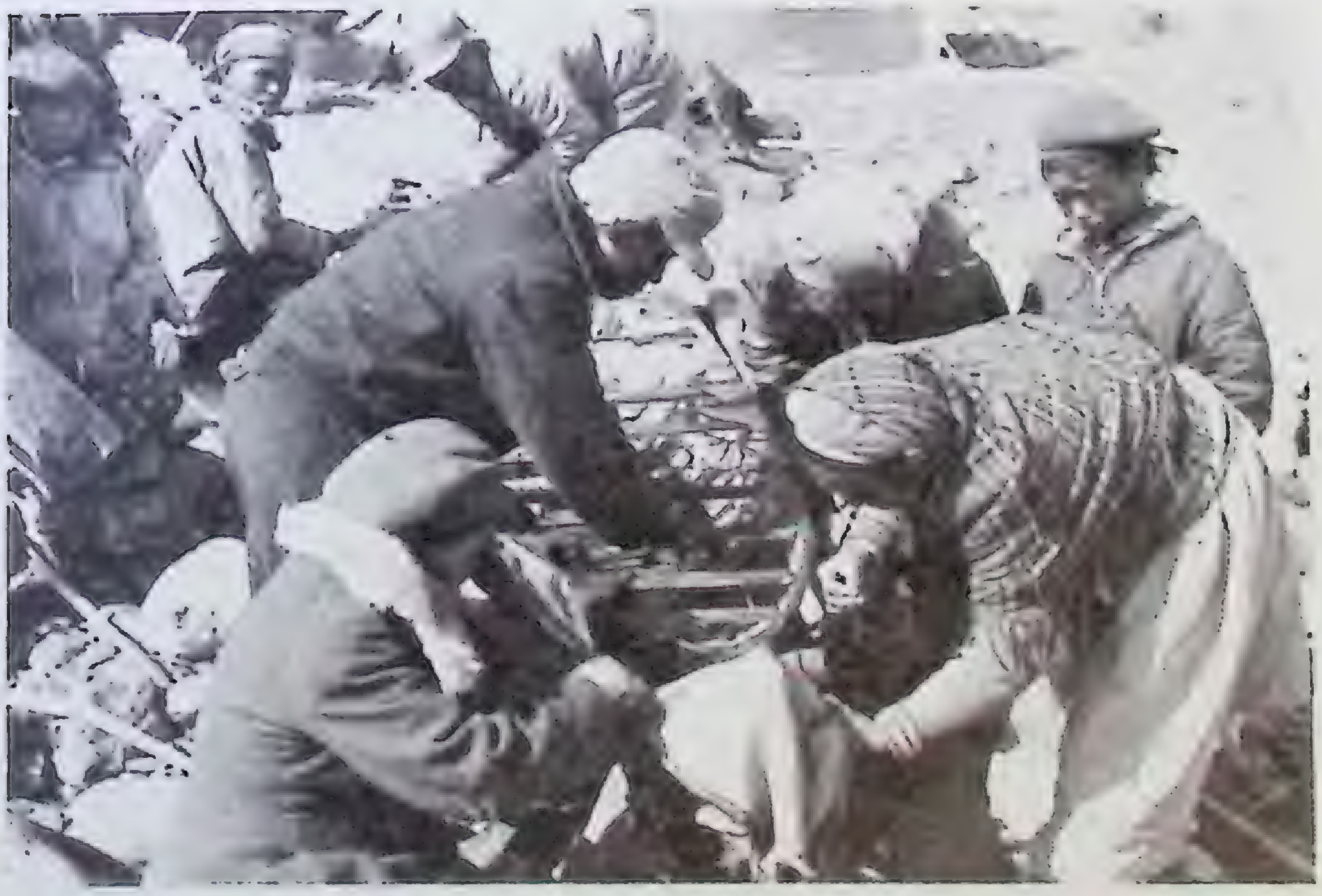
A. Fixing the keel



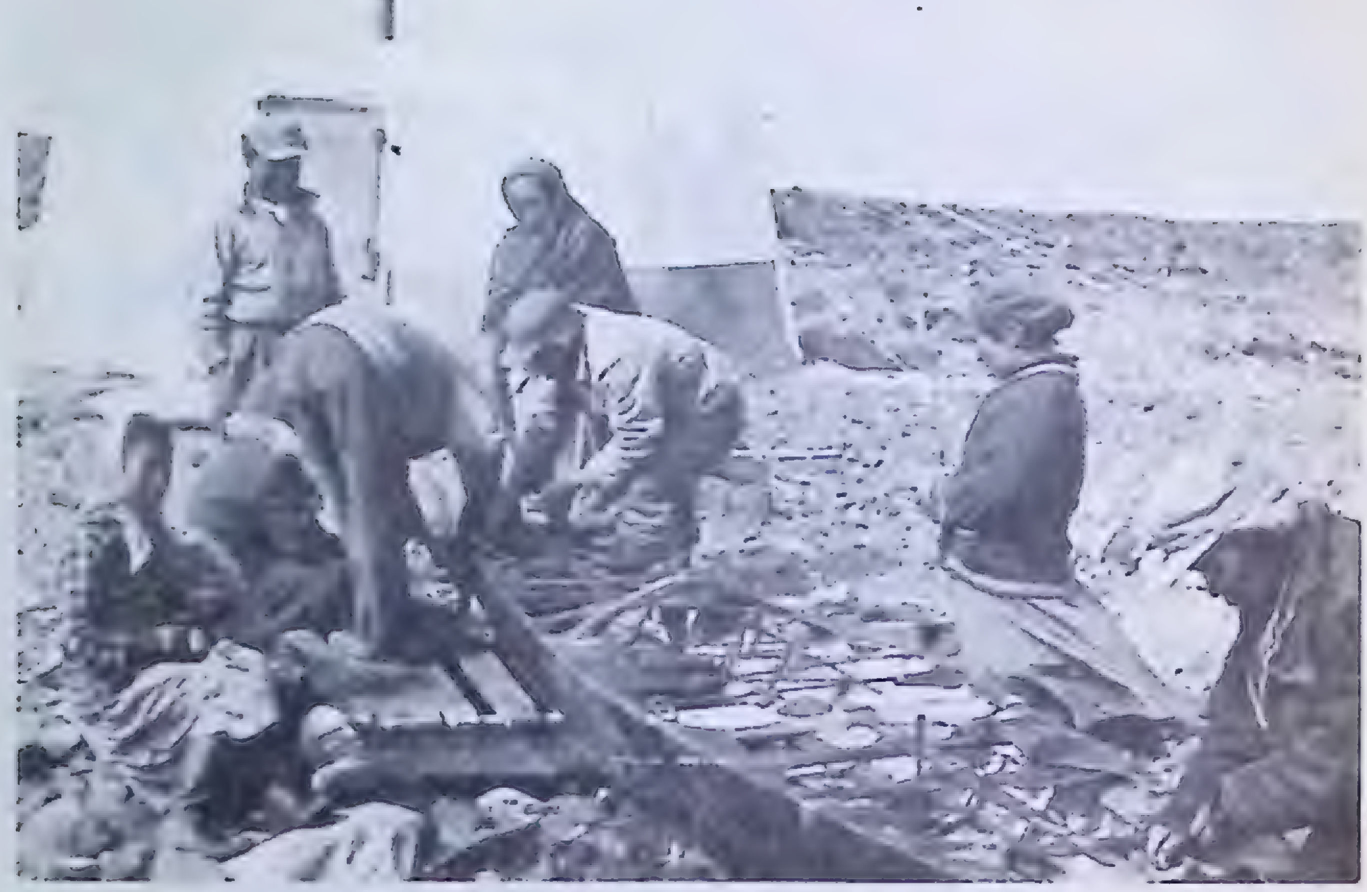
B. The completed kayak frame prior to covering with sealskin



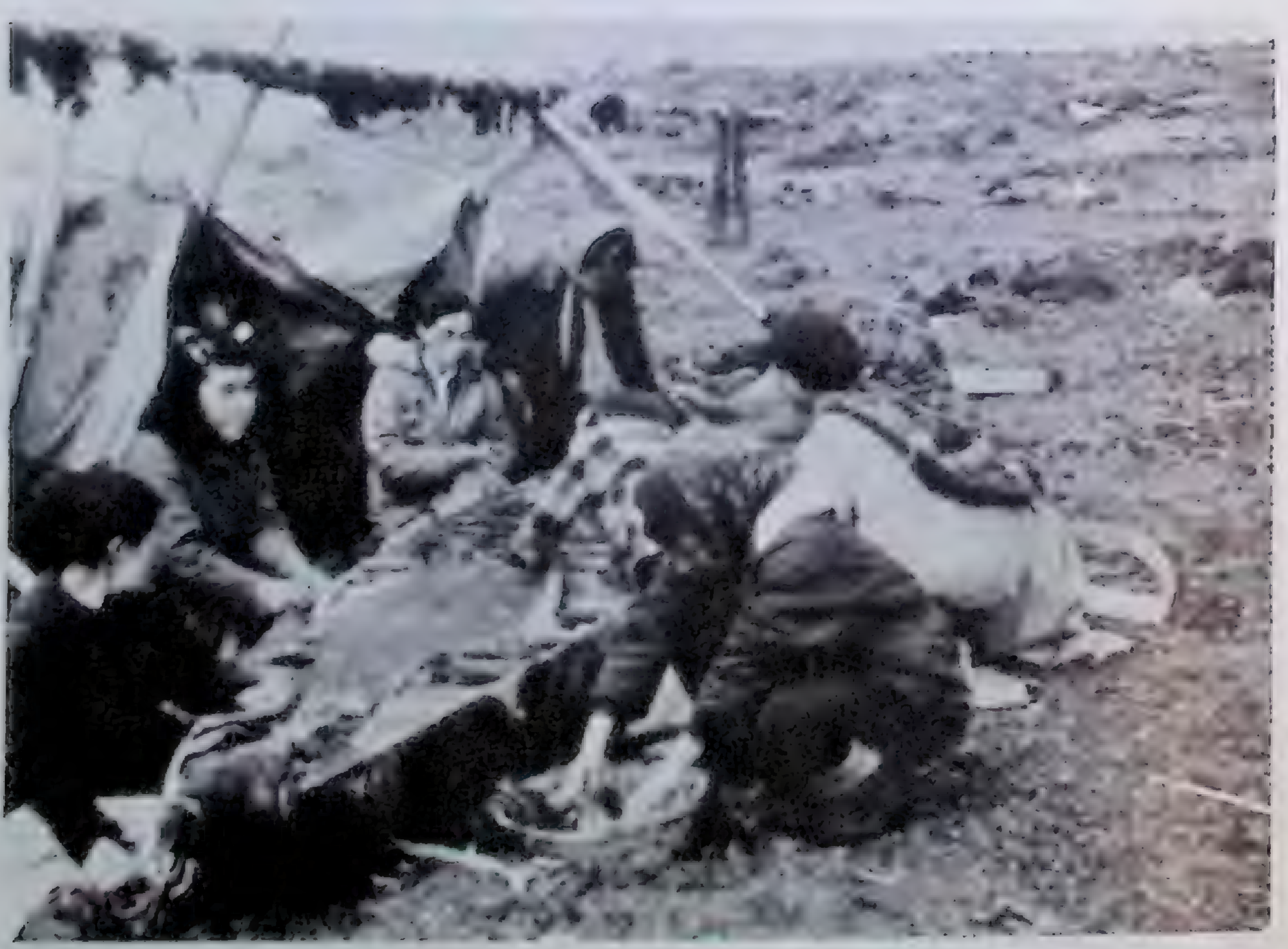
A. Placing the pre-sewn sealskin hull covering onto the frame.



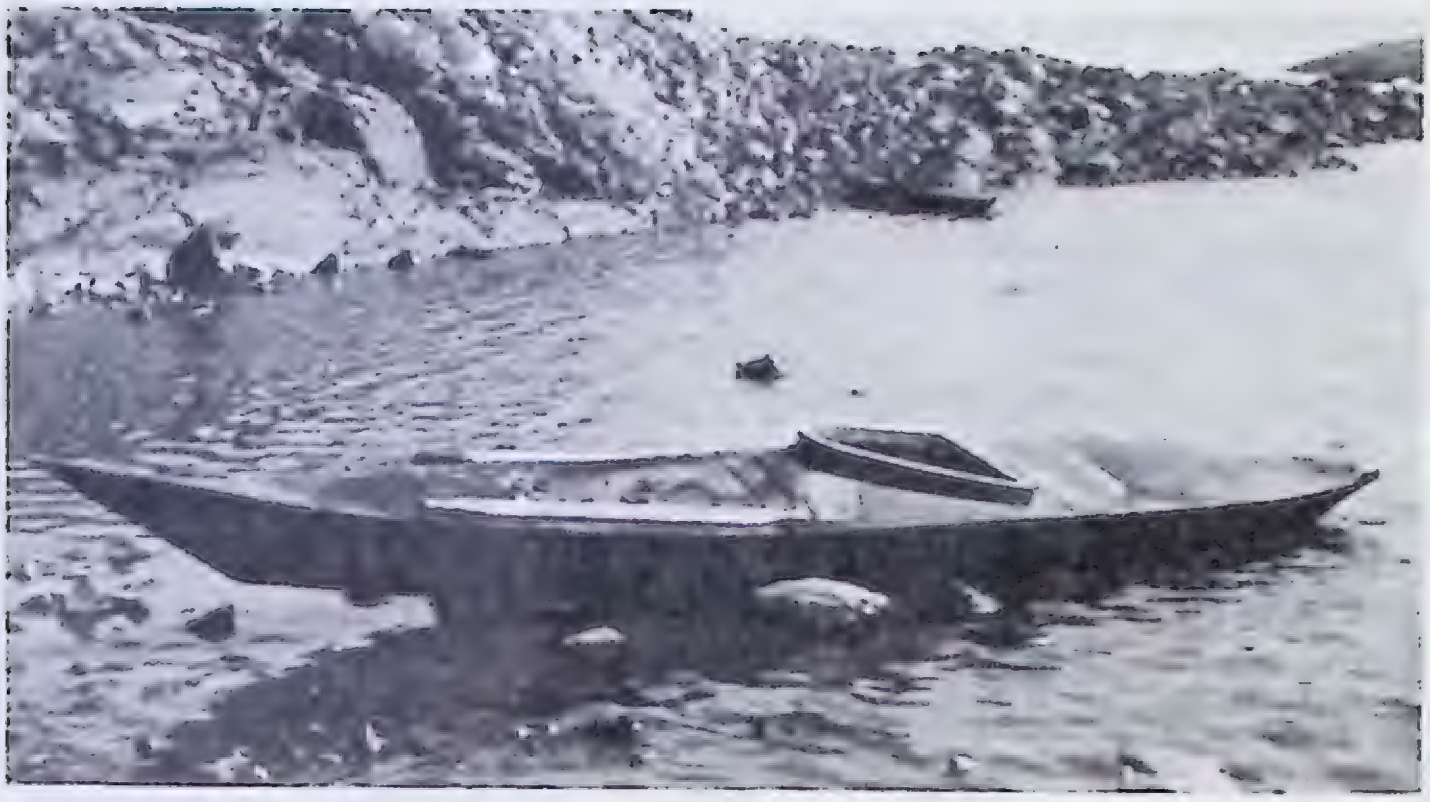
B. Detail of sewing the skins at the stern. Note the simultaneous stretching of the skins by means of lashings across the deck



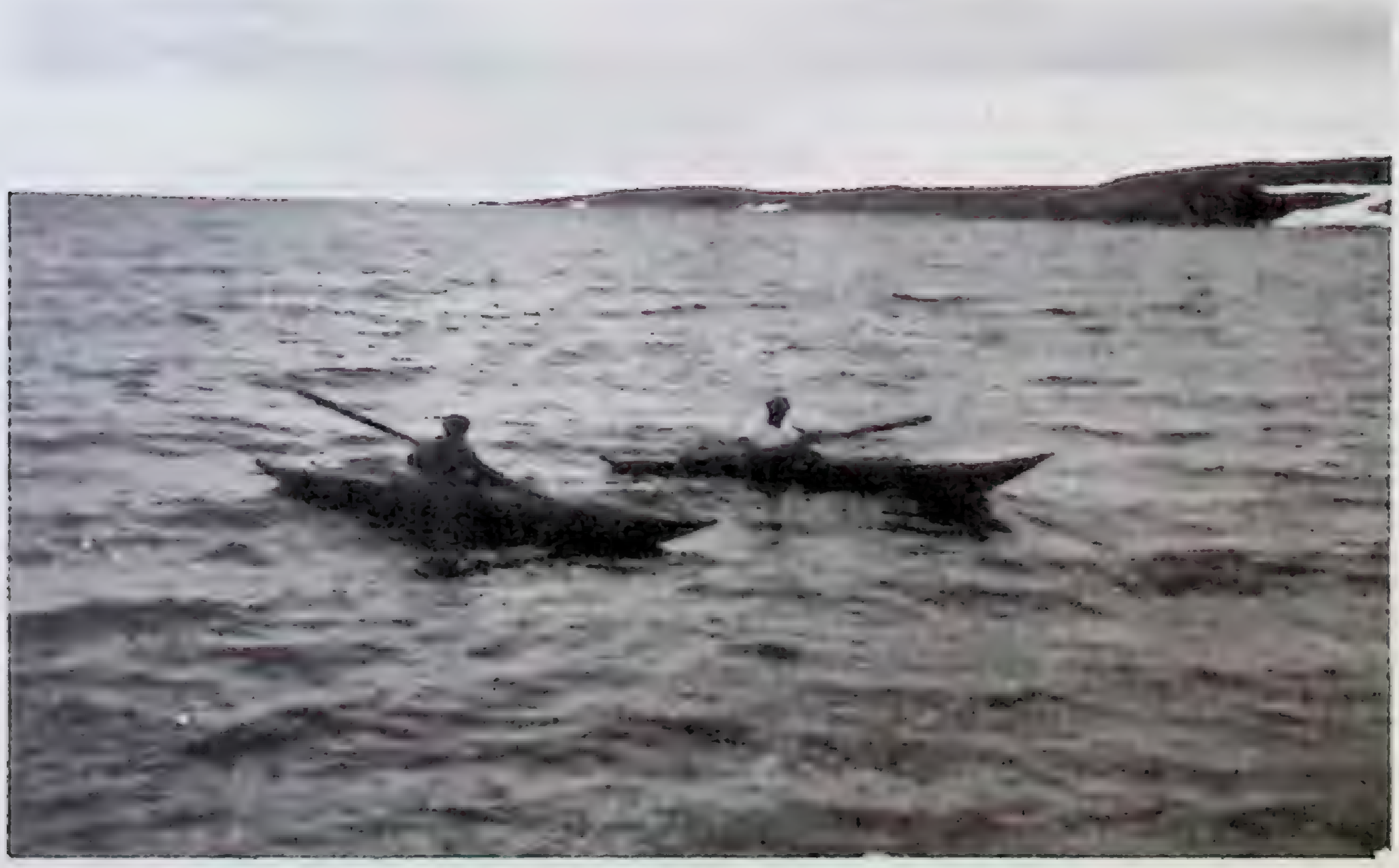
A. The kayak prior to the sewing of the deck covering



B. Method of sewing the deck sealskin



A. The completed kayak



B. Kayaks returning from a hunt. Note the white sealing parka in use and some hunting returns on the after deck.

SURVEY OF ROUND LAKE OJIBWA PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

By Jean H. Rogers

RÉSUMÉ

D'après les vestiges de la langue proto-algonquine centrale (*Proto Central Algonkian, PCA*) qui se retrouvent dans les données qui suivent, le dialecte du lac Rond (*Round Lake dialect*), parlé dans le nord-ouest de l'Ontario, peut se classer dans le groupe Ojibwa du nord. La manifestation de l'intelligibilité commune parmi les dialectes avoisinants, toutefois, indique que le dialecte du lac Rond est parlé dans une zone de transition entre les dialectes qu'on appelle communément le Cri et les dialectes qui sont indiscutablement de l'Ojibwa.

L'ouvrage de Bloomfield, intitulé *Eastern Ojibwa,* sert, dans une très grande mesure, de guide et de modèle à l'analyse et à la présentation des données concernant le lac Rond.

Les phonèmes segmentaux du dialecte du lac Rond comprennent neuf consonnes: quatre occlusives / p t c k/, trois spirantes /s š h/, deux nasales /m n/; et deux semi-voyelles /w y/. Il y a sept voyelles: trois brèves /i a o/ et quatre longues /i· e· a· o·/. Il semble exister des caractéristiques phonémiques tonales en position finale de locution et de phrase, caractéristiques dont la description complète exigerait une étude plus approfondie. L'accent tonique n'a pas une valeur phonologique.

Toutes les consonnes simples, sauf /h y/, se retrouvent en position initiale, médiale et finale. Le /h/ ne se présente qu'en position médiale, tandis que l' /y/ se trouve tout autant en position médiale que finale. Il existe plusieurs groupes consonnantiques composés de deux ou de trois consonnes. Toutes les voyelles se retrouvent en position initiale, médiale et finale. Il n'existe pas de groupes vocaliques.

La forme phonémique des morphèmes dépend surtout de la position qu'ils occupent par rapport aux autres morphèmes dans le corps du mot. Certains phonèmes se perdent à la fin d'un mot ou subissent des modifications dues aux phénomènes de dérivation et de flexion. Comme on peut s'y attendre, la morphophonologie du lac Rond est complexe. Il faudrait encore beaucoup plus de recherches pour faire une analyse complète de la question.

Même si les minces connaissances acquises ne permettent de faire qu'une description fragmentaire, le système de dérivation semble concorder étroitement avec celui que décrit Bloomfield dans son ouvrage intitulé *Eastern Ojibwa.*

Les principales catégories de radicaux sont les noms, les verbes et les particules. Tous les radicaux nominaux appartiennent à l'un des deux genres, animé (an.) ou inanimé (in.). Le nom des parties du corps, de certains biens personnels et les termes de parenté renferment des radicaux

subordonnés exigeant des préfixes personnels. Ces radicaux consistent en un suffixe médial suivi d'un suffixe final. Les pronoms forment une sous-catégorie de noms possédant, dans certains cas, des flexions légèrement différentes.

Les radicaux des verbes sont de quatre genres: intransitif inanimé (II), dans le cas des sujets inanimés; intransitif animé (IA), dans le cas des sujets animés; transitif inanimé (TI), dans celui des sujets animés et des objets inanimés; et transitif animé (TA), dans celui des sujets animés et inanimés, lorsqu'il y a des objets animés.

La flexion se fait par la modification à l'initiale du mot, la préfixation et la suffixation. Les radicaux nominaux et verbaux requièrent des groupes de flexions distincts quoique parfois apparentés, alors que les particules n'en exigent aucune. Les préfixes personnels accompagnent les noms (indiquant un possesseur) et les verbes indépendants (indiquant à quelle personne est le sujet ou l'objet).

Les radicaux nominaux et les radicaux à préfixe possessif sont fléchis par des suffixes terminaux pour en dériver des formes possessives ou non au singulier, au pluriel, à l'obviatif et au locatif. Les pronoms subissent des flexions pour indiquer la personne et le nombre.

Les flexions du verbe sont de trois ordres: indépendantes, pour les énoncés et les questions ordinaires; conjointes, principalement pour les verbes des propositions subordonnées; et impératives, pour les commandements et les interdictions. Dans chaque ordre, il y a un ou plusieurs modes indiqués par des suffixes spéciaux qui suivent les terminaisons personnelles.

Dans la flexion indépendante, il existe des signes de mode pour le dubitatif, le prétérit et le prétérit dubitatif après les terminaisons personnelles (le suffixe/ -(zéro)/ dans cette position pourrait indiquer l'indicatif). Un autre signe de mode ou aspect, indiquant la négative ou un fait improbable, est lié à des signes de radicaux placés avant les terminaisons personnelles et peut se présenter dans les mêmes formes avec d'autres signes de mode. La particule /ka·win/ se place avant le verbe dans les énoncés négatifs.

Les préfixes personnels sont absents dans les formes conjointes. Les signes de mode pour l'itératif, le prétérit, le dubitatif et le prétérit dubitatif se placent après les terminaisons personnelles. En outre, plusieurs formes conjointes indiquent un changement à l'initiale du mot. L'auteur considère ici le changement initial comme une marque de temps-aspect. La particule négative employée avec les verbes conjoints est /e·ka·/. Les formes conjointes modifiées sont employées comme substantifs (participes).

Les formes impératives comportent des sujets 2 et 1Pi (de 2^{e} personne et de 1re personne plurielle inclusive). On retrouve les formes du sujet 2 dans les énoncés de temps présent et de temps-aspect différé. Les commandements négatifs ont /ka·win/ ou /e·ka·win/ avant le verbe à l'impératif. L'impératif ne comporte aucun préfixe.

Des phrases, de courts textes et un glossaire figurent à la fin de l'étude.

INTRODUCTION

Data here presented were collected during 1958 and 1959, while the author's husband carried out an ethnographic field project, sponsored by the Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, and *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto. The project included a year's residence at Round Lake, in northwestern Ontario, a community consisting of several hundred Indians and a few semi-permanent Euro-Canadian residents: a Hudson's Bay Company trader and his wife, a missionary couple, and a teacher.

The dialects spoken by the Round Lake people and other Indian groups in the area have not previously been described by linguists; in fact there has been some question as to their classification as Ojibwa or Cree. On the basis of reflexes from PCA, evident in material I sent to Dr. C. E. Hockett during my field-work, he has classed the Round Lake dialect as belonging to the Northern Ojibwa group.[1] The distinction may not be significant with regard to mutual intelligibility among neighbouring dialects, which appear to change gradually from the area that everyone calls Cree to that which is indisputably Ojibwa.

Although there is evidence of borrowing of forms from other nearby dialects (Ojibwa and also, presumably, Cree), no attempt is made here to classify forms as native to or borrowed into the Round Lake dialect. The aim is simply to describe forms recorded from Round Lake informants. There are a few Indian residents at Round Lake who have immigrated from other bands, and in most cases these immigrants speak more English than those native to Round Lake, who are almost entirely monolingual. I have not included in this description any forms given by such people without careful checking with native Round Lake informants. The bulk of the material for this report comes from Miss Maggie Queiquish, a native Round Lake speaker, with occasional assistance in translation from Miss Abigail and Miss Siloma Beardy, whose parents came from bands farther north.

Special thanks are due to a number of individuals who aided the author and her husband during the project. I wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Campbell Currie of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, formerly of Sioux Lookout, and to Mrs. Currie, for their hospitality and advice. While we were residing at Round Lake, Mr. and Mrs. James Watson of the Hudson's Bay Company were very generous in their hospitality and provided us with many pleasurable occasions at their home. Thanks are due also to Mr. and Mrs. Art Acton, resident missionaries from the Northern Evangelical Mission, for their hospitality and the many interesting discussions we had.

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[1] Pers. comm.

The author wishes to express her gratitude to others who aided her linguistic work. Foremost among these is Dr. Hockett, without whose encouraging letters the author might have abandoned the attempt to record as much as possible of the Round Lake dialect. Special thanks are due also to Dr. C. D. Ellis of the University of Toronto, who discussed the material several times and later supplied comments on the manuscript. My greatest linguistic debt is undoubtedly to Dr. Bloomfield, whose influence will be easy to identify throughout the report. I have used his book, *Eastern Ojibwa,* to a very large extent as a guide and model for analysis and presentation of the Round Lake data.*

Material is presented in the following order:

1. Phonemics
2. Morphological sketch
3. Composition
4. Morphophonemics
5. Derivation
6. Inflection of nouns and pronouns
7. Verb inflections of the Independent Order
8. Verb inflections of the Conjunct Order
9. Verb inflections of the Imperative Order
10. Sentences and short texts
11. Glossary

1. Phonemics

1.1. Although more work will be necessary for a full description, there appear to be phonemic features of pitch for phrase and sentence final. In questions a slightly rising pitch culminates on the syllable before the utterance final syllable and contrasts with falling pitch on the final syllable. Questions sometimes include a question marker, particle /-na/ or /-na·/, compounded as final member to a word in the question which the speaker wishes to emphasize. When the question marker occurs, this syllable receives the falling pitch, contrasting with the preceding syllable. Apart from questions, phrase and sentence final are indicated by a slightly falling pitch over the utterance, which is followed by a pause.

1.2. Stress (nonphonemic) in a word is variable, and differences are usually slight. Syllables containing a long vowel generally receive greater stress or loudness than those containing a short vowel.

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* When it has been necessary to divide an Ojibwa form at the end of a line, an asterisk (*) indicates the non-linguistic nature of the division, unless the break occurs between the members of a compound word, where a hyphen (-) shows a linguistic boundary.

Segmental Phonemes

1.3. Round Lake segmental phonemes include consonants, with a subclass of semivowels, and vowels.

Segmental phonemes are as follows:

Consonants:	Stops	p t c k
	Spirants	s š h
	Nasals	m n
	Semivowels	w y
Vowels:	Short	i a o
	Long	i· e· a· o·

1.4. Stops /p t k/ are bilabial, alveolar, and velar in position; the affricate /c/, occurring in the same environments as stops, is alveo-palatal in position. These phonemes may be fully or partially voiced between voiced vowels, or word medially in consonant clusters when they are preceded by a nasal or followed by a semivowel. Elsewhere they are unaspirated voiceless: /apo·p/ "broth," /ma·ca·n/ "go (imperative)," /pe·šikwan/ "the same," /ninta·niss/ "my daughter," /tipihka·/ "night," /ahca·p/ "bow." In a few words, /t/ varies freely with /c/: /nimintit, nimincit/ "I am fat."

1.5. Spirants include the sibilants /s š/ and fricative /h/; /s/ fluctuates between alveolar and a position slightly behind alveolar; /š/ is usually alveo-palatal in position but may be slightly forward of alveo-palatal. Single sibilants may be voiced between vowels, and word medially in consonant clusters when they are preceded by /n/ or followed by a semivowel. Some speakers voice single sibilants after /n/ word finally. Elsewhere they are voiceless: /asa·tiya·htik/ "willow," /a·ša/ "now, already," /wi·hke·ns/ "spruce cone," /šikop/ "spruce," /sa·kahikan/ "lake." Although /s/ and /š/ are very close in position, the distinction is phonemic. The phonetic distinction is sometimes very difficult to hear, and my data undoubtedly contain errors. The distinction is most easily made between the voiced allophones, and when sibilants occur in long, voiceless sequences /ss/ and /šš/, where they are strongly articulated, clearly in alveolar and alveo-palatal position: /missi/ "stick of firewood," /mišši·n/ "many."

/h/ is a glottal fricative, always voiceless. Medially in a cluster of which the second member is /c/, /h/ is fronted, the tongue blade raised, so that it becomes difficult to distinguish it from the sibilants in rapid speech: /kihci-/ "big, greatly."

1.6. Nasals /m n/ are voiced continuants. /m/ is bilabial in position. /n/ is velar before /k/, alveolar elsewhere: /panki·/ "a little." In word final position where /n/ is the first member of a cluster with a sibilant, closure may be incomplete, and the preceding vowel may be strongly nasalized: /animo·nss/ "puppy." /n/ is optionally inserted before stops, and sometimes sibilants, after a vowel preceded by a nasal. This gives rise to alternate forms: /mi·kwan, mi·nkwan/ "feather," /nakwa·kan, nankwa·kan/ "snare." (After the personal prefix /ni-/, the insertion of /n/ before stops is obligatory; *see* 4.24.) Intervocalic /n/ is sometimes "flapped" so that it seems to be intermediate phonetically between a voiced stop and a continuant.

1.7. Semivowels /w y/ are voiced, bilabial, and palatal in position. After a front vowel, /w/ sometimes resembles the initial sound of French "huit": /mi·we·/ "fine, all right." Post-vocalic /wi/ in a word medial syllable, or at the end of a prior member of a compound word, normally merges phonetically, resulting in a short syllabic vowel resembling that of French "fut": /ata·we·wikamik/ "store," /ahki·wi-masinahikan/ "map." (/wi/ does not occur word initially; compare 4.30, or between consonants; *see* 4.42.) In a few words, initial /wa/ varies with /o/: /wacica·hk, ocica·hk/ "whooping crane," /wanikam, onikam/ "path, trail," from which come alternate forms /niwanikam/ and /ninto·nikam/ "my trail." /wo, wo·/ do not occur at the beginning of a word, although initial /o·/ may be spoken as [wo·]: /o·te·na·/ "town." Morphological evidence indicates a phonemic interpretation of the initial syllable as /o·/: /ninto·te·na·/ "my town."

After a back vowel /y/ varies with /w/: /e·-mawinsowa·n, e·-mawinsoya·n/ "while I pick berries." /y/ sometimes varies with /w/ after a front vowel: /okini·wa·htik, okini·ya·htik/ "rose bush." (Forms with /y/ in the base form show variation, but forms with /w/ do not.)

Since clusters involving vowels other than /i o/ are lacking, /w y/ are treated here as full phonemes contrasting with vowel phonemes /o i/, rather than as nonsyllabic allophones of the short vowels. However /w/ is replaced by /o/ and /y/ by /i/ in alternate forms /apwi, apoy/ "paddle," with stem /apwy-/, from which come regular alternate plurals /apwi·k, apoyak/ "paddles." /y/ seems to have a syllabic allophone in the augment /-i-/, occurring when consonants come together within the word (*see* 4.16). The augment /-i-/ contrasts with normal short vowel /i/ in that it causes mutation of some preceding consonants (*see* 4.17, 18, 19); otherwise it behaves as /i/.

1.8. The length of vowels is phonemic, the system containing three short and four long vowels.

1.9. Short vowels may be unvoiced and rapidly spoken before sibilants and clusters of /h/ plus stop. When /i/ occurs between sibilants, it is normally omitted in rapid speech: /awa·šiššihka·n/ "doll," /nintahki/ "my land," /nintantohta·n/ "I listen for it." In normal speech, short vowels are usually assimilated to a following /w/, having a quality similar to the vowel in English "foot." In this environment, the short vowels are thus normally indistinguishable. Careful checking under conditions of abnormally slow speech is necessary for phonemic accuracy of transcription, and my data probably contain some errors in this respect. An exception to the assimilation of short vowels to a following /w/ occurs when /i/ is followed by a sequence of /w/ plus another front vowel. In this case /i/ is raised and fronted so that it resembles /i·/ except in length: /niwi·-sakasswa·/ "I want to smoke."

After /p/ and before /hk, k/, /i/ is backed so that it has the tongue position of the vowel in English "foot," but with no rounding of the lips: /pihkoci·ssi/ "black fly." Between homorganic nasals, /i/ may be omitted, leaving a syllabic nasal: /nina·pe·m/ "my husband," /niwa·pamima·/ "I see the other." Occurring between a stop and homorganic nasal, /i/ may be omitted, leaving an unreleased stop plus syllabic nasal, as in colloquial American English "button": /a·hkwatin/ "it's freezing." Medially before /h/ and word finally, /i/ sometimes has the quality of the vowel in English "pet": /tihima·n/ "playing card," /we·ti/ "over there." Elsewhere /i/ is similar to the lower high front unrounded vowel in English "pin": /minoki·šika·/ "it's a nice day," /pinima·/ "soon."

/a/ before /y/ is usually raised and fronted so that the sequence is only slightly more open than the diphthong in American English "way": /wa·po·s-waya·n/ "rabbit skin." In word final syllables before /n/, it is similar to the vowel in French "le": /sa·kahikan/ "lake." Elsewhere (except as noted before /w/) /a/ resembles the mid central unrounded vowel in English "cut": /mahkwa/ "bear," /wa·pank/ "tomorrow."

/o/ varies between the high back rounded vowels of English "foot," and French "nous" in all positions: /animošš/ "dog," /okima·/ "boss, H.B.C. manager."

1.10. Long vowels are usually strongly nasalized after /n/, especially if a nasal also follows: /ona·ska·n/ "he fetches it."

/i·/ resembles the high front unrounded vowel in French "qui": /ni·n/ "I." /e·/ resembles the mid front unrounded vowel in French "lait": /na·pe·/ "man." /a·/ after /w/ resembles the low back unrounded vowel in American English "jaw." Elsewhere it resembles the low central unrounded vowel in American English "father": /wa·po·s/ "rabbit." /o·/ varies between the mid and high back rounded vowels of French "chaud" and "nous": /po·si/ "he embarks."

Distribution of Phonemes in the Word

1.11. The word is the shortest complete utterance. There is sometimes an "h" off-glide (nonphonemic) between a word ending in *V* and one beginning in *C*. There is usually an *h*- or *y*-glide between a word ending in *V* and one beginning in *V*. (Between back vowels, or perhaps simply after a back vowel, the off-glide may vary as *w*-.) Members of compound words behave as simple words, with the off-glide sometimes appearing between the members. The *w*-glide may appear between the members of the compound /nikamo·inini/ "singer." The *h*-glide varies with the *y*-glide in the compound /ninki·-amwa·/ "I ate him." When morphemes come together within a simple word or compound member, the off-glide is always absent and there may be morphophonemic changes.

1.12. All single consonants except /h y/ occur word initially, medially, and finally. /h/ occurs only word medially: /tihima·n/ "playing card." /y/ occurs word medially and finally: /waya·n/ "hide, skin," /minsay/ "ling." However, some informants have word initial V- varying with yV- in some words: /yahpa·hkison, ahpa·hkison/ "apron," /yassin, assin/ "stone." Morphological evidence indicates that even for such individuals these words have stems with initial vowel: /nintassin/ "my stone."

1.13. Several types of consonant cluster occur, involving two and three consonants. (The term "stop" includes affricate /c/.)

Two-consonant clusters are formed with spirant plus stop, occurring word medially and finally. Clusters of /h/ plus stop replace "fortis" consonants, normally described for Ojibwa dialects. Since clusters of /h/ plus stop are paralleled by clusters of /s/ and /š/ plus stop, they are treated here as consonant clusters rather than as single fortes. This interpretation, departing from Bloomfield, is in accord with Hockett's comment[1]: /ni·stam/ "first," /išpimink/ "up above," /kihci-/ "big, greatly," /atihk/ "caribou."

Sequences of two identical sibilants form clusters medially and finally (As "fortis" stops are treated here as consonant clusters, "fortis" sibilants are similarly treated.): /animošš/ "dog," /wa·ssa/ "far."

Two-consonant clusters are formed with nasal plus stop or spirant (except /h/). These clusters, always homorganic, occur medially and finally: /mo·ns/ "moose," /mo·nšak/ "every time," /a·nti/ "where," /ma·nk/ "loon," /nininc/ "my hand," /pimpisowin/ "outboard motor." Nasal /n/ occurs as first member of three-consonant clusters, followed by a sequence of two identical sibilants:/animo·nss/ "puppy," /animo·nssak/ "puppies."

Semivowel /w/ occurs as final member of two-consonant clusters with any other consonant, word initially and medially (Note that /h/ does not occur word initially, so that /hw/ occurs only medially.): /ša-pwa·* hte·/ "it glimmers," /matwe·hikan/ "drum," /wi·kwa·ss/ "birch," /assa·hwe·/ "yellow perch," /opimwa·n/ "he shoots him," /nwa·ntawa* kin/ "whenever I hear him," /kwe·hkinan/ "turn it around (imperative)." /w/ occurs also as final member of three-consonant clusters, preceded by any of the permitted two-consonant clusters not already involving /w/. Three-consonant clusters with final member /w/ occur medially: /pahki·ntwe·/ "he bites (e.g., a mosquito)," /kawinkwašši/ "he is sleepy," /so·kihpwan/ "it's snowing," /oto·nswa·n/ "he boils him," /sakasswa·/ "he smokes (tobacco)."

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[1] Bloomfield, Leonard: *Eastern Ojibwa, Grammatical Sketch, Texts and Word List,* The University of Michigan Press, 1956, p. vi.

1.14. All vowels occur word initially, medially, and finally. There are no vowel clusters (*see* 4.1–4).

1.15. As indicated previously, a few CV sequences have restricted distribution: my data show no cases of /wi/ occurring word initially or between consonants (compare 4.30, 42); /wo, wo·/ do not occur word initially (compare 4.30).

2. Morphological Sketch

This introductory section is intended as an outline of Round Lake morphology, to be treated in more detail in later sections. Morphophonemics, phonemic changes occurring when morphemes come together in the derivation and inflection of stems, will be treated in section 4.

2.1. Grammatical processes include various types of reduplication of roots, suffixation, and compounding in the formation of stems, and initial change, prefixation, and suffixation in the inflection of stems to form words.

2.2. A word, or one member of a compound word, consists of the following elements (an element enclosed in parentheses may be absent): (inflectional prefix)-(root)-(one or more medial suffixes)- one or more final suffixes-(one or more inflectional suffixes). All words begin either with a root or with an inflectional prefix. Inflectional suffixes are lacking in particles, which are uninflected stems.

Derivation of Stems

2.3. When inflectional affixes are stripped from a word, the stem remains. In secondary derivation, a final is added to a stem, yielding a derived stem. In primary derivation, a final is added to a root or a medial, yielding a primary stem. In general, the same finals are used in primary and secondary derivation, and finals differ for the major stem classes: nouns, verbs, and particles. Sometimes, however, a noun and verb have the same form: /ki·šika·/ "day (noun), it is day (verb)."

2.4. Many noun stems have no analysable final, hence, a (zero) final. Names for body parts, certain intimate possessions, and kin terms contain dependent stems, which require personal prefixes. /nisit/ "my foot" contains the dependent stem /-sit-/. These stems consist of a medial suffix plus final.

All noun stems belong to one of two genders, animate (an.) or inanimate (in.). The distinction is partly biologically relevant—e.g., names for people, animals, and some plants are animate—and partly formal, since some plants are inanimate and some non-living things are animate. Noun finals are, in general, not specific to a particular gender; rather, the gender distinction is shown by characteristic inflections for an. and in. nouns.

2.5. Pronouns form a subclass of nouns, with slightly differing inflections in some cases. The personal pronouns, indicating number and person, contain the dependent stem /-i·n-/ with personal prefixes.

2.6. Verb stems fall into four types: inanimate intransitive (II), with inanimate subjects; animate intransitive (AI), with animate subjects; transitive inanimate (TI), with animate subjects, inanimate objects; and transitive animate (TA), with animate and inanimate subjects, animate objects. In general, finals of the four stem types differ, although there are a few cases where identical finals occur for AI and II stems, and for TI and TA stems. Intransitive verb stems end in a vowel (or sometimes /n/); transitive stems end in a consonant. A subclass of AI stems consists of "pseudo-transitive" stems, which end in a vowel as intransitive verb stems normally do but have some similarities in inflection to transitive stems (*see* 7.8, 8.4, 9.1, 9.3–5).

2.7. Animate intransitive verb stems which end in a vowel usually add /-w/ before certain derivational suffixes: /ata·we·wikamik/ "store," with stem /ata·we·-/, /-w/ and augment /-i-/, suffix /-kamikw/. Similarly, some roots ending in -V add /-w/. (Further data might indicate that this phenomenon should be explained as a variation in suffixes, in this case /-kamikw/ and /-wikamikw/.)

2.8. Particle stems are uninflected. Many particles do not occur as free forms, but only as prior members of compounds. Conspicuous here are tense-aspect preverbs such as /ki·-/ "past, completed," /wi·-/ "desire, intention," /ta-, ka-/ "future." In verb inflections the personal prefixes are added to such preverb particles, which are compounded to the verb stem: /niwa·pama·/ "I see him," /ninki·-wa·pama·/ "I saw him." Many roots plus particle final /-i/ form prenoun particles, which are compounded to noun stems: /tipihki-pi·ssim/ "moon (night-sun)," with prior member root /tipihk-/ plus particle final /-i/. The dependent particle stem /-i·ci-/ is compounded in /ni·ci-inini/ "my fellow Indian." The locative noun inflection /-ink/ occurs as a final in some particle stems indicating place: /išpimink/ "up above," /pi·ntikamink/ "indoors."

Composition

2.9. In composition, prior elements are combined with stems like words in a phrase, i.e., internal morphophonemic habits affect each member of a compound independently. The resultant compound stem is inflected as a unit. The prior member, which may be a word, stem, or root, often occurs in a special compounding form. The final member is a stem, rather than a suffix.

Inflection of Stems to Form Words

2.10. Inflection is by initial change, prefixation, and suffixation. Noun and verb stems take separate though sometimes related sets of inflections, while particles are uninflected.

The term "ending" may be used here to distinguish inflectional suffixes from derivational suffixes.

2.11. Initial change, characteristic of Conjunct verbs, affects the first vowel of the verb stem (which may be the first vowel of the prior member of a compound stem). The following changes were recorded: /o/ to /we·/, /i, a/ to /e·/, /a·/ to /aya·/, /o·/ to /wa·/, /i·/ to /a·/. Although Bloomfield illustrates initial change in cases of derivation and composition, the Round Lake data show only one possible example (or I have identified only one): /ke·hte·yihi·/ "he is old," possibly with initial change from root /kiht-/ "big, great."

2.12.. Personal prefixes, occurring both with nouns (indicating a possessor) and Independent verbs (indicating person of subject or object), are as follows: /ni-/ "I; he or they and I," /ki-/ "you; you and I," /wi-/ "he, she, they." An indefinite personal possessor is indicated with some dependent noun stems by /mi-/: /mito·n/ "one's mouth," with dependent stem /-to·n-/ "mouth." As prior members of compounds, dependent noun stems apparently have /wi-/: /onihki-pi·ssimohka·n/ "wrist watch," with prior member containing dependent stem /-nihk-/ "arm." (Morphophonemic changes in the addition of prefixes are given in 4.3, 5, 30.)

Prefix /ki-/ always occurs if second person is involved, hence prefix /ki-/ for first person plural inclusive (1 Pi), as in personal pronoun /ki·nawint/ "you and I." Prefix /ni-/ occurs if first person but not second is involved, hence /ni-/ for first person plural exclusive (1 Pe), as in personal pronoun /ni·nawint/ "he, they, and I." This order of "precedence" (/ki-/ over /ni-/, /ni-/ over /wi-/) is characteristic of Independent TA verbs, where different persons are involved as subject and object.

2.13. Inflection by the addition of suffixes (endings) is characteristic of both nouns and verbs. Some noun stems and all transitive verb stems are extended by the addition of theme signs indicating the existence of a possessor (with nouns) or the gender and person of the subject or object (with verbs). Endings are added to the resulting themes in the same way as to ordinary stems.

In many cases, the same (or very similar) suffixes are added to noun and verb stems, or themes, indicating distinctions of person, number, and gender.

2.14. *Noun inflection.* Singular (S) and plural (P) numbers of an. and in. nouns are distinguished. Nouns are further distinguished for obviation: the first noun mentioned in an utterance is in third person (3), and subsequent nouns, of both genders, mentioned after the first an. noun are usually obviative (4).[1] There is a further obviative (5) optionally employed for some nouns. Simple nouns thus show inflection for number and person within each gender.

Nouns may be inflected for possession. The inflections include prefixes and endings indicating person and number of the (animate) possessor, followed by further endings indicating person, number, and gender of the noun possessed. These inflections are added to "possessed themes," which may be identical with the noun stem or may consist of the noun stem plus /-im/. (This use of the term departs slightly from Bloomfield, who apparently includes the personal prefix as well as the theme sign /-im/ in the possessed theme.) The occurrence of the theme sign /-im/ is unpredictable for particular nouns. A noun with 3 possessor is itself obviative.

Nouns, possessed or unpossessed, occur in local forms with locative endings /-ink/ and /-ihka·nk/, suffixes occupying the same position as those indicating number, gender, and person of the noun.

2.15. *Verb inflection.* II verb stems are inflected by endings indicating the number (S, P) and person (3, 4) of the inanimate subject. Impersonal verbs (e.g., "it's raining") occur only in the singular.

AI verbs are inflected by prefixes in Independent forms for 1 and 2 subjects, and by endings in all forms, indicating person and number for all subjects, which are always animate.

TI verbs are inflected by prefixes in Independent forms for all subjects (1, 2, 3, 4), which are animate. Suffixes include theme signs indicating an inanimate object followed by endings of two types: those indicating person and number of the subject, and closing endings referring to person and number (3, 4 S and P) of the inanimate object.

TA verbs fall into paradigmatic sets indicated by theme signs added to the stem. Some theme signs are specific for the person of the object, e.g., /-iššì/ for 1 objects, /-inini, -ini/ for 2 objects. Forms involving persons other than 1 and 2 contain theme signs indicating direction as well. For example, with TI stems as well as TA stems, theme sign /-a·/ indicates a 3, 4, or 5 object which follows the subject in the order of precedence (refer to 2.12). Such forms are direct. Prefixes, when they occur, and personal endings immediately following the theme sign refer to the subject. These personal endings are followed by closing endings referring to the number and person of the object. When the personal precedence between subject and object is inverted —e.g., when 3, 4 subjects act on 1, 2 objects—different theme signs appear, and prefixes and endings immediately following the theme sign refer to the object; closing suffixes refer to the subject. Such forms are inverse. Direct theme sign /-a·/, occurring in a form translated "I see him," is paralleled by inverse theme sign /-ikw/, which, if substituted for /-a·/, would yield an inverse form (with the same prefixes and personal endings) meaning "he sees me." Alternate forms exist in some cases; for example, where a choice between theme signs is possible. "If he sees me" may be rendered by two Conjunct forms: by a direct form containing theme sign /-išši/, indicating 1 S object, with personal endings immediately following referring to the subject; or by an inverse form containing inverse theme sign /-ikw/ followed by endings referring to the object. There are direct forms for indefinite actors (X) with 3 objects, and inverse forms for indefinite actors and 1, 2 objects. (The order of precedence is thus 2, 1, X, 3).

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[1] C. D. Ellis notes that some form of structural dependence on a 3 an. person is required for obviation in Cree and suggests that such may be the case here also. My data on this point are inconclusive.

Forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object have special endings following the theme signs. Further endings referring to the object (direct forms) or the subject (inverse forms), which appear when persons other than 1 and 2 are involved as subject or object, do not occur in these forms. In accordance with personal precedence, prefix /ki/ always occurs (in Independent forms) if 2 is subject or object. But the reference of the personal ending depends on number rather than on person: if subject or object (but not both) is plural, the ending refers to the plural person: if both are plural, the ending refers to 1 Pe. There is thus no distinction in the verb form between 2 S and 2 P, if either subject or object is 1 Pe. When subject or object is 3 or 4, further endings referring to the number of the object (direct forms) or subject (inverse forms) appear partly in accordance with the precedence of plural over singular. For example, in Conjunct forms, when 1 S acts on 3, plural objects are shown; but if the subject is plural, plural objects may not be shown. There thus appear to be two principles which interact in some forms: precedence among persons (2, 1, X, 3, 4) and precedence of plural over singular.

Verb inflections fall into three orders: Independent, for ordinary statements and questions; Conjunct, primarily for verbs in subordinate clauses; and Imperative, for commands and prohibitions. Personal prefixes occur only in the Independent Order. Theme signs are generally the same or very similar throughout, but endings vary for the different orders. In addition, there is some variability among the different orders in the reference to number of subjects and objects in TA forms.

Within each order there are one or more modes, indicated by special suffixes following the personal endings. Similar modes in Independent and Conjunct forms are sometimes indicated by the same mode suffixes.

Although limited data seem to make it unwise to assign numbered positions for inflectional suffixes, it can be seen that the endings fall into at least four grammatical types, in sequence counting from the stem; theme signs, personal endings, mode suffixes, and closing suffixes (indicating number and gender of the object in TI and TA direct forms, or of the subject in intranstive and TA inverse forms).

Aspects (?) /-ssi·/ "negative or unlikely occurrences," with Independent forms, and /-hka/ "delayed," with Imperative forms, are attached to theme signs. Since these do not occupy the same position as the mode signs, they might be considered a fifth type of ending, unless they are themselves considered theme signs.

3. Composition

3.1. Compound stems are formed by the addition of prior elements to stems. A compound word differs from a sequence of words in that the compound stem is inflected as a whole, with prefixes and initial change affecting the first member and suffixes the last member. In addition, the morphophonemic rules for the occurrence of post-consonantal /wi/ and post-vocalic /w/ at the end of a word (*see* 4.35, 42) differentiate between the prior member of a compound and a simple word. In other respects, the members combine like words in a phrase, with morphophonemic rules affecting each member independently. The prior member seems generally to be an attribute of the following member. Contrast the phrase (na·pe· ota·ssan/ "the man's trousers," where the first noun occurs in 3rd person and the second in 4th obviative, with the compound /na·pe·wi-mita·ss/ "a man's trousers, trousers for men," where the compound as a whole is in 3rd person. Sometimes a compound and a unit word contain related morphemes and have the "same" meaning: /oški-mahkisin/ "new shoe," with bound particle and noun stem, and /oškahkisin/ "new shoe," with root and deverbal suffix.

3.2. The final member of a compound stem may be a particle, noun or verb stem, but the prior member may appear in a special compounding form.

3.3. Some singular nouns and particles form prior members with no change in form: /ohpwa·kan-nasse·ma·/ "pipe tobacco," /ihkwe·-mako·t/ "woman's garment; skirt," /a·n-ahpi·/ "when (interrogative)," /wa·po·s-waya·n/ "rabbit skin," /ša·nkwe·šši-waya·n/ "mink pelt." Many particles do not occur as free forms but appear only as prior members of compounds: /kihci-/ "big, greatly (prenoun and preverb)," as in /kihci-okima·/ "great chief" and /kihci-kimiwan/ "it's raining hard"; /misko-/ "red (prenoun)," as in /misko-ci·ma·n/ "red canoe."

3.4. Some noun stems ending in a consonant add /-i/ as prior members of compounds: /atihko-no·hkahikan/ "powdered caribou meat," with stem /atihkw-/ and /-i/ (merging by 4.42); similarly /mihtiko-e·*mihkwa·n/ "wooden spoon," with stem /mihtikw-/ and /-i/; /assini·-ohpwa·kan/ "stone pipe," with stem /assiny-/ and /-i/ (merging by 4.47); /ša·nkwe·ššiwi-ši·pa·hta·na·htik/ "mink pelt stretcher," with stem /ša·nkwe·ššiw-/ and /-i/; /mi·kissi-mako·t/ "beaded jacket," with stem /mi·kiss-/ and /-i/, occurring as well as the unit word /mi·kissako·t/. Post-consonantal /w/ seems to be lost in /mo·nsi-no·hkahikan/ "powdered moose meat," with stem /mo·nsw/. All words ending in a consonant add /-i/ when compounded with the question marker /-na/ or /-na·/. This represents a unique case, as the prior member is always a completely inflected form.

The prior element may consist of a root (perhaps sometimes with accretions) which would require further derivation to form a stem. Again, /-i/ is added (at least before a following element beginning in a consonant): /tipihki-pi·ssim/ "moon," with root /tipihk-/ and /-i/. Such cases are probably best treated as further examples of the derivation of particles with particle final /-i/.

3.5. Noun stems and AI verb stems appear as prior members in a special compounding form with /-w/ before a stem beginning with a vowel, /-wi/ before a stem beginning with a consonant: /manico·ssiw-assap/ "cocoon (insect-net)," with stem /manico·ss-/, augment /-i-/ (*see* 4.16), and /-w/; /ata·we·w-inini/ "trader," with stem /ata·we·-/ and /-w/; /kihke·ntama·wi-pawa·mo/ "he has a dream of supernatural significance," with stem /kihke·ntama·-/ and /-wi/; /nikamo·-inini/ "singer," with stem /nikamo-/ and /-w/ (merging of /ow/ to /o·/ by 4.34); /ahki·wi-masinahikan/ "map," with stem /ahky-/, augment /-i-/ (merging by 4.47), and /-wi/. One bound particle has an alternate form with /-wi/: /antawi-ki·wa·škwe·ya·tisi/ "he is going crazy," and /anta-pawa·mo/ "he seeks a vision."

4. Morphophonemics

The phonemic shape of morphemes depends largely on their positions relative to other morphemes within the word. Certain phonemes drop at the end of a word, or undergo modifications when they are brought together by the processes of derivation and inflection. Because of the relatively small amount of field data and the absence of published data from the Round Lake dialect, the following description of morphophonemic changes must be tentative and is undoubtedly incomplete. Changes given as characteristic of particular morphemes might, with further data, prove to be of wider or more general occurrence. I have relied to a large extent on Bloomfield but have not adopted his morphophonemic rules where my data are insufficient to indicate that they might have general application in the Round Lake dialect, even though such data as exist do not contradict a rule of Bloomfield's for Southern or Eastern Ojibwa.

Vowel Plus Vowel

4.1. When long vowels come together, an augment /-y-/ appears between them: /ki·wa·škwe·ya·tisi/ "he is going crazy," with stem /ki·wa·škwe·-/, suffix /-a·tisi/. (/y/ varies with /w/ after a back vowel, and sometimes after any vowel, *see* 1.7.)

4.2 In conjunct verb inflections, /-y-/is inserted after stems in -V before endings in V- regardless of length: /nikamoya·n/ "if I sing," with stem /nikamo-/; /nikamoyan/ "if you (S) sing."

4.3. When a long vowel and a short vowel come together, the short vowel normally drops: /a·nahkona·hke·/ "she makes bannock," with stem /a·nahkona·-/, final suffix /-ihke·/; /kino·še·k/ "fish (P)," with stem /kino·še-/, ending /-ak/; /no·ss/ "my father," with prefix /ni-/ and dependent stem /-o·ss-/ (compare 4.5).

4.4. When short vowels come together, the second normally drops: /ota·nciha·n/ "he puts it in a box," with /a·nci-/, suffix /-ah/.

4.5. The personal prefixes add /-t-/ before verb stems and independent noun stems beginning with a vowel: /otamwa·n/ "he eats him," with prefix /wi-/ (becoming /o-/ by 4.30), stem /amw-/.

Loss and Replacement of Vowels

4.6. /o/ is replaced by /o·/ after the /-t-/ of personal prefixes: /oto·nswa·n/ "he boils it (an.)," with stem /onsw-/. Alternations in vowel quantity sometimes occur before /w/ plus a front vowel, and unpredictably elsewhere (*see* 4.31, 34): /a·cimo·win/ "story," with stem /a·cimo-/, suffix /-win/; /inini·wa·hpine·/ "an illness of supernatural origin," with stem /ininiw-/; /ni·mi·win/ "dance (noun)," with stem /ni·mi-/; /-ššip/ "duck," suffix deverbal from /ši·šši·p/ "duck."

4.7. There is alternation of /a·/ and /e·/ in some words: /nipa·/ "he sleeps," /nipe·win/ "bed"; /wi·kwa·ss/ "birch," /wi·kwe·mwat/ "birch bark box"; /minihkwe·/ "he drinks"; /minihkwa·kan/ "cup."

4.8. /a/ is replaced by /a·/ in many TA stems ending in /-aw/: /nintassapihke·htama·wa·/ "I make a net for him," with stem/assapihke·htamaw-/ (compare 4.31).

4.9. /e·/ is replaced by /a/ in /kipahiškotawa·n/ "damper." Compare/iškote·/ "fire," and /iškote·wa·po·/ "firewater, whisky."

4.10. /o·/ of pseudo-transitive stems in /-to·, -hto·/ is replaced by /a·/ before inflectional suffixes beginning in /w/: /ninta·pacihta·wa·n/ "I use it (4)," with stem /a·pacihto·-/, complex ending /-wa·n/.

/o·/ of pseudo-transitive stems drops before derivational suffixes: /išihcike·/ "he does things so," with stem /išihto·-/, derivational suffix /-ke·/. Many of these stems have alternate forms in which /o·/ is dropped before TI inflectional suffixes, resulting in regular TI stem forms: /ninta·pacihto·n/ "I use it," with pseudo-transitive stem /a·pacihto·-/ and /ninta·pacihta·n/ "I use it," with regularized TI stem /a·paciht-/.

4.11. The short vowels of singular noun endings /-a/ (an.), /-i/ (in.) are dropped at the end of a word, except when the noun stem consists of a single short vowel syllable ending in (C)C(w): /missi/ "a stick of firewood (in.)," with stem /miss-/; /mahkwa/ "bear (an.)," with stem /mahkw-/. When such forms occur in derivatives and compounds, the singular noun ending is retained: /wa·pi-mahkwa/ "white bear," compound; /wa·pahkwa/ "white bear (mythological being)," derivative. The endings are ordinarily lost after stems of more than one syllable: /wa·hka·hikan/ "house (in.)," with stem /wa·hka·hikan-/; /a·pahkwa·ni·kin/ "roof (in.)," with stem /a·pahkwa·ni·kinw-/ (A preceding Cw is replaced by C after the short vowel drops, *see* 4.39). The short vowel endings are always dropped after stems in Cy (*see* 4.46).

Ending /-a/, indicating 4 P an. object (direct forms) or subject (inverse forms) of Independent TA verbs (*see* 7.13), is dropped except after theme sign /-ikw/. /-a/ indicating a 4 P subject of Independent intransitive verbs (*see* 7.4) is retained in all forms.

Final /i/ of TA theme signs /-išši/ and /-inini, -ini/ are dropped word finally.

4.12. Intransitive verb stems ending in a short vowel drop the short vowel if no suffix (or /-(zero)/) follows. /ninikam/ "I sing," with stem /nikamo-/, contrasts with /nikamo/ "he sings," with ending /-w/, lost by 4.35. However, the short vowel is retained in /nintanoho/ "I choke," after /h/.

Consonants (Except Semivowels) Plus Vowels

4.13. When consonants other than /w, y/ combine with vowels, there is no modification of either phoneme.

4.14. The sequence /aha/ is optionally replaced by /a·/ if other syllables follow: /nisa·kahamin, nisa·ka·min/ "we (excl.) go outside." Contrast /nisa·kaham/ "I go outside."

4.15. Two identical sequences of consonant plus vowel or vowel plus consonant may be reduced to one: /mite·win, mite·wiwin/ "shaman's rite"; /kiwa·paminina·wa·, kiwa·pamina·wa·/ "I see you (P)." Haplology optionally occurs in theme signs /-inini, -ini/ and /-inin, -in/.

Prefix /ki-/ and preverb /ka-/ "future" are optionally replaced by /ka-/: /kika-wa·pamin, ka-wa·pamin/ "I will see you." Prefix /ki-/ and pre-verb /kita·-/ "is to, has to" are apparently replaced by /ta-/ in /ta-pi·ša·/ "you are to come" (*see* 10.98).

Consonant Plus Consonant

4.16. When consonants come together within the word, an augment /-i-/ (from /-y-/, *see* 4.1) normally appears between them, except before /y/. Consonants which mutate before /y/ (*see* 4.17–19) also do so before the augment. With the augment added, morphemes ending in C have Ci- plus the following consonant: /nihkimin/ "bilberry," with stem /nihk-/, suffix /-min/; /animoššikamik/ "dog house," with stem /animošš-/, suffix /-kamikw/; /wa·pancika·te·/ "it is seen," with stem /wa·pant-/ (mutation by 4.18), suffixes /-ka·, -te·/. Stems in -Cw with the augment have Co- (*see* 4.42): /kiwa·pamikowa·/ "he sees you (P)," with theme /wa·pamikw-/, ending /-wa·/; /maški·kokamik/ "earth covered lodge," with stem /maški·kw-/, suffix /-kamikw/. Stems in -Cy with the augment have Ci·- (*see* 4.47): /nipi·ni/ "water (4)," with stem /nipy-/, ending /-ni/; /wahkwi·ni/ "cloud (4)," with stem /wahkwy-/, ending /-ni/.

I have assumed that /i/ from the augment is a syllabic allophone of /y/, because consonants which mutate before /y/ also do so before the augment.[1] In all other respects /i/ from /y/ behaves like the normal short vowel /i/. Alternatively, it would be possible to analyse the augment as /-yi-/ after Bloomfield. However, it would be necessary to state that /-yi-/ behaves as /-i-/ except for the mutation of consonants. Against this is the fact that in all clear cases in the Round Lake data where post-consonantal /yi/ occurs, the sequence is replaced by /i·/ (*see* 4.47).

Mutation of Consonants

4.17. /n/ in some morphemes[2] mutates to /š/ before /y/ and augment /-i-/, and to /h/ before /k/: /mi·š/ "give it to him (Imperative, 2 S subject)," with stem /mi·n-/, ending /-y/ dropped by 4.46. Contrast /mi·nihk/ "give it to him (Imperative, 2 P subject)," with ending /-ihk/; /wa·pamihkwa·/ "they see you (S)," with stem /wa·pam-/, theme sign /-in(in)/, endings /-k, -wa·/.

4.18. /t/ mutates to /c/ before /y/, augment /-i-/ and particle final /-i/, apparently in all cases: /wa·pancika·te·/ "it is seen," with stem /wa·pant-/; /išihcika·so/ "he makes things so," with stem /išihto·-/, dropping /o·/ by 4.10; particle /kihci-/ "big, greatly," with root /kiht-/, final /-i/.

4.19. /ss/ in some morphemes mutates to /šš/ before /y/, augment /-i-/, and particle final /-i/. Root /miss-/ "big" shows mutation in /miššа·/ "it is big," with suffix /-ya·/; /mišši-pišiw/ "big lynx (mythological being)" prenoun particle with final /-i/. Contrast /missa·pe·/ "giant (mythological being)," with suffix /-a·pe·/.

4.20. /c/ is replaced by /t/ before /w/ (perhaps only in some cases). /wa·pamac/ "if you see him," and /wa·pamatwa·/ "if you see them," with ending /-wa·/.

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[1] The particle final /-i/ also appears to cause mutation of the preceding consonant: /kihta nsik/ "American merganser," with root /kiht-/, which occurs with final /-i/ in particle /kihci-/ "big, greatly."

[2] Because of limited data I have not employed Bloomfield's morphophonemic symbol N. Contrast is clear in the Round Lake data between a few forms which show mutation and many which do not. But for most of the latter there are no cases where morphemes ending in /-n/ occur in the environments where mutation might be expected to appear, so that it is not clear whether these morphemes have /n/ which mutates before /y, k/ or /n/ which does not.

Combining of Consonants Without Augment

4.21. /y/ is added after consonants without augment, causing mutation of some consonants, as noted above. Post-consonantally, /y/ drops (*see* 4.46), merges with the following vowel (*see* 4.47), or appears as /i/ (*see* 4.16, 46).

4.22. When /y/ is added to a stem ending in Cy, the resulting sequence appears as Ci·: /šikopi·ya·htik/ "spruce tree," with stem /šikopy-/, suffix /-ya·htikw/ (augment /-y-/ between long vowels, *see* 4.1).

4.23. Nasals sometimes combine directly with stops and spirants, the nasal assimilating to produce a homorganic cluster: /onte·/ "it (in.) is boiling," and /onso/ "it (an.) is boiling," with root /on-/, finals /-te·/ (in.) and /-so/ (an.); /wa·pank/ "tomorrow," with stem /wa·pan-/, ending /-k/; /ki·-ininohki·ya·mpa·n/ "that I had a job," mode suffix /-pa·n/ added to compound form /ki·-ininohki·ya·n/.

4.24. /n/ is inserted after personal prefix /ni-/ before stops and affricate (including /-t-/ of personal prefixes, *see* 4.5): /ninta·niss/ "my daughter," with dependent stem /-ta·niss-/.

4.25. /m/ of theme sign /-am/ is dropped in /wa·pantata·/ "let's look at it," with theme /wa·pantam-/, ending /-ta·/.

4.26. /n/ of II verb stems in /-n/ is dropped before the alternate Conjunct ending /-hk/: /kimiwahk, kimiwank/ "it's raining," with stem /kimiwan-/, endings /-hk/ in the first form, /-k/ in the second. (This is not a case of /n/ mutating to /h/ before /k/, as the suffix /-hk/ also occurs with stems ending in V, as in /ki·šika·hk/ "when it is day," with stem /ki·šika·-/.)

4.27. Spirants combine directly with /w/: /opa·škiswa·n/ "he shoots him," with derivation of TA stem from TI /pa·škis-/ and final /-w/; /oci·htahwa·n/ "he pricks him," from /ci·htah-/ with /-w/.

4.28. Nasals combine directly with /w/ in some verb forms. In the inflection of intransitive verb stems ending in /n, m/ for third and obviative plural subjects, augment /-i-/ is optional before endings /-wak, -wan, -wa/; /tahkawa·hkwano·n/ "they (in.) are short," with stem /tahkwa·hkwan-/ and ending /-wan/ (with merging of /wa/ to /o·/ by 4.41); optionally, this form appears with augment as /tahkwa·hkwaniwan/. /sa·kahamo·k/ varies with /sa·kahamiwak/ "they (an.) go outside." /takoššino·/ varies with /takoššiniwa/ "they (4 an.) come on foot."

4.29. Two identical consonants (between vowels) are sometimes reduced to one, and two nasals may be reduced to the second nasal: /pi·ntikamik/ "inside," with particle /pi·ntik-/, suffix /-kamikw/;

/otišpina·n/ "he lifts him up," with root /išpim-/ as in /išpimink/ "up above"; /kisa·kahana·wa·/ "you (P) go outside," with stem /sa·kaham-/, ending /-na·wa·/.

Vowels Plus Semivowels

4.30. Third person prefix /wi-/ merges to /o-/ except before dependent stems in V- (compare 4.42, 43): /owa·panta·n/ "he sees it," with stem /wa·pant-/. Contrast /wi·pitan/ "his tooth," with dependent stem /-i·pit-/; short vowel of prefix dropped by 4.3. /wi-/ is dropped before dependent stems beginning with /o·/. /o·ssan/ "his father," with dependent stem /-o·ss-/, short vowel dropped by 4.3 and /w/ lost in conformance with 1.7.

4.31. Noun stems ending in a vowel plus /w/ drop /w/ and lengthen the vowel, if short, before the possessed theme sign /-im/, locative endings /-ink, /-ihka·nk/, diminutive suffix /-nss/, inanimate obviative ending /-ni/, and possibly others. Similarly, TA verb stems in /-aw/ optionally drop /w/ and lengthen the vowel before the inverse theme sign /-ikw/ and perhaps other verb endings: /inini·nss/ "little person," with stem /ininiw-/, diminutive suffix /-nss/; /nintinini·m/ "my person," with suffix /-im/; /pimite·nk/ "in the fat," with stem /pimite·w-/, ending /-ink/; /pimite·ni/ "fat (4 in.)," with ending /-ni/. /nintassapihke·htamawik/ varies with /nintassapihke·htama·k/ "he makes a net for me," with stem /assapihke·htamaw-/, theme sign /-ikw/.

AI verb stems in compounding form with /-w, -wi/ usually lengthen the vowel if short: /a·hkosi·wi-maškihki/ "medicine," with AI stem /a·hkosi-/. Similarly, AI verb stems with final /-win/ (nominalizer) usually lengthen the last vowel of the verb stem if short: /a·hkosi·win/ "sickness." Contrast /pawa·mowin/ "dream," from AI stem /pawa·mo-/.

4.32. The sequence /i·wa/ merges to /i·/ in /ke·hte·yihi·n/ "they (in.) are old," with stem /ke·hte·yihi·-/, endings /-w, -an/.

4.33. The sequence /owo/ is replaced by /o·/: /nikamo·k/ "sing (Imperative, 2 P subject)," with stem /nikamo-/, endings /-w, -ok/.

4.34. The sequences /ow/ and /owi/ at the end of prior members of compounds are replaced by /o·/: /nikamo·-inini/ "singer," with stem of prior member /nikamo-/ and /-w/; /pi·ssimo·-masinahikan/ "calendar," with stem of prior member /pi·ssimw-/ (post-consonantal /w/ merging with augment /-i-/ before a consonant by 4.42) and /-wi/.

4.35. Word finally, after the loss of singular noun suffixes, /w/ after a vowel usually drops: /inini/ "man, person," with stem /ininiw-/; /pimite·/ "fat, lard," with stem /pimite·w-/. Post-vocalic /w/ is retained in a few simple nouns: /pišiw/ "lynx," /wa·w/ "egg," /pikiw/ "resin," /na·ne·w/ "shore." Post-vocalic /w/ is retained in many verb forms: /nimaw/ "I cry," with AI stem /mawi-/. This occurs in imperative inflections of pseudo-transitive verbs with obviative objects: /pi·ta·w/ "bring it (4)." Contrast the loss of word final /w/ of Independent intransitive forms, as in /nipa·/ "he sleeps," /nipa·wak/ "they sleep."

4.36. Many polysyllabic stems ending in /ay/ drop /ay/ word finally: /mako·t/ "garment, coat," with stem /mako·tay-/; /omissat/ "his gut," with dependent stem /-missatay-/. However, /ay/ is retained in /wašakay/ "skin," /sanakaškway/ "blood sucker." Disyllabic stems retain /ay/; /opi·way/ "his hair," with dependent stem /-pi·way-/; /minsay/ "ling," with stem /minsay-/.

4.37. Polysyllabic noun stems ending in /ay/ sometimes drop /y/ and lengthen the vowel before inanimate plural and obviative endings /-an, -ni/ and locative endings /-ink, ihka·nk/. Apparently, these stems always drop /y/ and lengthen the vowel before the possessed theme sign /-im/ and the personal endings, and in diminutives with /-nss/. If postvocalic /y/ is not dropped, the sequence /ayi/ in locative and obviative (in.) nouns is replaced by /aya·/ (Compare 6.7; locative endings /-a·nk, -a·hka·nk/ after stems in vowel plus /w, y/). /omissatayan, omissata·n/ "his guts," with dependent stem /-missatay-/, ending /-an/; /mako·* taya·ni, mako·ta·ni/ "garment (4)," with stem /mako·tay-/, ending /-ni/; /nimocissaka·m/ "my floor," with stem /mocissakay-/, theme sign /-im/; /kimako·ta·wa/ "your (P) coat," with stem /mako·tay-/, ending /-iwa·/; /mako·ta·nss/ "small coat," with suffix /-nss/. Contrast /niminsayim/ "my ling," with disyllabic stem /minsay-/.

4.38. The sequence /iyi/ is replaced by /i·/ in /mi·nišši·hkan/ "give it to me later," with theme signs /-išši/, /-yi/.

Consonants Plus Semivowels

4.39. Post-consonantal /w/ drops in word final position, e.g., after the loss of singular noun suffixes: /atihk/ "caribou," with stem /atihkw-/. It is retained before a long vowel other than /o·/. Stem /wa·ka·hkwatw-/ "axe" appears in /wa·ka·hkwatwa·htik/ "axe handle."

4.40. Post-consonantal /w/ is replaced by /o/ and retained in word final position after the loss of TA verb suffix /-y/ (*see* 4.46). /ki·škiso/ "cut it (an.), (Imperative with 2 S subject)," with stem /ki·škisw-/. Similarly, post-consonantal /w/ is replaced by /o/ in /apoy/ "paddle," alternate form occurring beside /apwi/, with stem /apwy-/.

4.41. Post-consonantal /w/ merges with /a/ to /o·/ under the following conditions: in the final syllable of a polysyllabic word when the preceding syllable contains a short vowel: /masinahikana·htiko·n/ "pencils," with stem /masinahikana·htikw-/, ending /-an/; contrast wanake·*

hkwan/ "kinds of bark"; /tahkwa·hkwano·n/ "they (in.) are short," with stem /tahkwa·hkwan-/, endings /-w, -an/ added without augment (*see* 4.28).

Post-consonantal /wa/ optionally merges to /o·/ in the final syllable after a disyllabic stem when the preceding syllable contains a short vowel: /atihkwak, atihko·k/ "caribou (P)," with stem /atihkw-/, ending /-ak/. A few words of this type (or perhaps only those with a long vowel in the first syllable and a short vowel in the second) have invariable merging of /wa/ to /o·/: /pe·pano·n/ "papers," with stem /pe·panw-/; /ne·*wanko·n/ "sands," with stem /ne·wankw-/. A few monosyllabic and disyllabic stems ending with a long vowel syllable have such merging: /wa·po·so·k/ "rabbits"; /mo·nso·k/ "moose (P)"; /ma·nko·k/ varies with /ma·nkwak/ "loons."

4.42. Post-consonantal /w/ merges with /i/ to /o/ before a consonant: /animošš/ "dog," with root /animw-/, suffix /-išš/; /ninci·ssok "he stings me," with stem /ci·ssw-/, theme sign /-ikw/; /kiwa·pamikowa·/ "he sees you (P)," with theme /wa·pamikw-/, augment /-i-/ and suffix /-wa·/. Merging occurs at the end of prior members of compounds: /mihtiko-e·mihkwa·n/ "wooden spoon," with stem of prior member /mihtikw-/ plus /-i/; /atihko-no·hkahikan/ "powdered caribou meat," with prior member stem /atihkw-/ plus /-i/. Merging of /wi/ (restricted in my data to /wi/ from Cwy) does not occur word finally: /apwi/ "paddle," with stem /apwy-/; /wahkwi/ "cloud," with stem /wahkwy-/.

4.43. In the formation of possessed themes with /-im/, post-consonantal /wi/ merges to /o·/ (regardless of the position of the syllable in the word) in those words which have invariable merging of /wa/ to /o·/ in the plural and obviative (*see* 4.41), except after disyllabic stems which contain a long vowel in the first syllable and a short vowel in the second: /ninto·wa·po·so·m/ "my rabbit," with stem /wa·po·sw-/, which shows invariable merging of /wa/ to /o·/ in the plural. Contrast /ope·panom/ "his paper," which also has invariable merging of /wa/ to /o·/ in the plural.

In the formation of locatives with ending /-ink/, post-consonantal /wi/ merges to /o·/ apparently in all cases: /masinahikana·htiko·nk/ "on the pencil," /wanake·hko·nk/ "on the bark." In the alternative locative, with /-ihka·nk/, post-consonantal /wi/ merges as expected to /o/, by 4.42.

Post-consonantal /wi/ merges to /o·/ in /pikwahko·ššip/ "American goldeneye," with stem /pikwahkw-/, augment /-i-/ and suffix /-ššip/.

4.44. Post-consonantal /w/ merges with /o, o·, e·/ to /o·/: /niwa·*pamiko·/ "somebody sees me," with stem /wa·pam-/, theme signs /-ikw/ and /-o (or) -o·/; /atihko·nss/ "little caribou," with stem /atihkw-/ and suffix /-e·nss/.

4.45. Post-consonantal /w/ seems to be lost in a few forms: /a·pahkwa·ni·kinike·/ "he builds a roof," with stem /a·pahkwa·ni·*kinw-/; /atihkame·k/ "whitefish," probably with stem /atihkw-/.

4.46. In words consisting of a noun stem with a single short vowel syllable, post-consonantal /y/ appears as /i/ in word final position[1]: /nipi/ "water," with stem /nipy-/. This is also true of a few disyllabic stems: /maškihki/ "herb, medicine," with stem /maškihky-/; ašiški/ "black mud," with stem /ašišky-/. Elsewhere, post-consonantal /y/ drops in word final position: /mi·š/ "give it to him (Imperative)," with stem /mi·n-/, mutation of /n/ to /š/ by 4.17, ending /-y/; /šikop/ "spruce," with stem /šikopy-/; /watap/ "spruce root," with stem /watapy-/; /mih*kwam/ "ice," with stem /mihkwamy-/.

4.47. When post-consonantal /y/ combines with a following /a, e·, i/, the resulting sequences are replaced by /i·/: /šikopi·k/ "spruces," with stem /šikopy-/, ending /-ak/. /assini·nss/ "little stone," with stem /assiny-/, suffix /-e·nss/; /nimpo·ši·m/ "my cat," with stem /po·šy-/, ending /-im/.

In combination with other vowels, post-consonantal /y/ is dropped: /miššа·/ "it (in.) is big," with root /miss-/, mutation by 4.19, suffix /-ya·/; /wa·ka·hkwatwa·htik/ "axe handle," with stem /wa·ka·*hkwatw-/, suffix /-ya·htikw/.

Post-consonantal /y/ is dropped in /assapihke·/ "he makes a net," with stem /assapy-/, and probably in /ošikopina·n/ "he crumbles it," with stem /šikopy-/.

5. Derivation

Limited data allow only a sketchy description of the derivational system, which appears to agree closely with that described by Bloomfield for Eastern Ojibwa.

Secondary Derivation

5.1. In secondary derivation, suffixes (finals) are added to stems, forming derived stems, which are then inflected to form words (nouns, verbs) or are uninflected particles. In some cases finals are added to possessed noun themes rather than to stems.

AI verb stem /išinihka·so-/ " be called, be named so" plus final suffix /-win/ yields derived noun stem /išinihka·sowin-/ "name." Noun stem

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[1] This /i/ is assumed to come from -Cy, although Bloomfield identifies it as the in. singular suffix /-i/ which is retained after stems consisting of a single short vowel syllable. However, /apwi/ "paddle" is animate in the Round Lake dialect, so that the expected ending is /-a/, not /-i/. In addition, if Bloomfield's explanation were applied to forms with -Cwi, another explanation would be required in order to explain the dropping of post-consonantal /y/ rather than merging of /yi/ to /i·/, see 4.47.

/atihkw-/ "caribou" plus final /-e·nss/ "diminutive" yields derived noun stem /atihko·nss-/ "little caribou" (4.44). Noun stem /pi·ssimw-/ "sun" plus /-hka·n/ "substitute" yields derived noun stem /pi·ssimohka·n-/ "clock" (4.42). Pseudo-transitive verb stem /a·pacihto·-/ "use something" plus final /-kan/ yields derived noun stem /a·pacihcikan-/ "tool" (4.10, 18). Noun stem /miskwi·-/ "blood" plus final /-wan/ yields derived II stem /miskwi·wan-/ "be bloody." Noun stem /manito·-/ "spirit, supernatural power" plus final /-hke·/ or /-ihke·/ yields derived AI verb stem /manito·hke·-/ "exercise supernatural power." AI verb stem /assapihke·-/ "make a fish net" plus complex final /-htamaw/ yields derived TA verb stem /assapihke·htamaw-/ "make a net for someone." Particle /pe·šik/ "one" appears in derived particle /pe·šikwa·/ "once." Particle /a·nti/ "where (interrogative)" appears in derived particle /a·ntine·hke·/ "which way (interrogative)."

The third personal prefix sometimes appears in secondary derivatives: personal prefix plus AI verb stem /assapihke·-/ "make a net" plus final /-šši·šš/ "diminutive (animals)" yields derived noun stem /otassapihke·*šši·šš-/ "spider." Possessed noun theme with third personal possessor /otihkom-/ "his louse" plus final /-i-/ yields derived AI verb stem /otihkomi-/ "have lice."

5.2. Reduplication of the first syllable of the root frequently occurs as another form of secondary derivation[1]: /papa·mosse·/ "he walks about"; unreduplicated /pimosse·/ "he walks"; /nana·tawe·ncike·/ "he is hunting all around"; unreduplicated /nantawe·ncike·/ "he hunts"; /ša·šša·kawa·pikošš/ "chipmunk"; unreduplicated /ša·kawa·/ "it is narrow."

Primary Derivation

5.3. In the simplest form of primary derivation, finals are added to roots, the only elements other than personal prefixes which begin words. Noun stem /animošš-/ "dog" contains root /animw-/ "dog" and final /-išš/ "pejorative" (4.42). Noun stem /miskomin-/ "raspberry" contains root /miskw-/ "red" and final /-min/ "berry" (4.16, 42). II verb stem /kišite·-/ "be hot (weather)" contains root /kiš-/ "hot" and final /-te·/ (4.16). AI verb stem /miskosi-/ "be red" contains root /miskw-/ "red" and final /-si/ (4.16, 42). TA verb stem /nipah-/ "kill someone" contains root /nip-/ "die, dead" and final /-ah/. Particle /nissin/ "three" contains root /niss-/ and final /-in/. Many particles occurring as prior members of compounds consist of a root plus final /-i/: /wa·pi-ma·nk/ "white loon," with prior member containing root /wa·p-/ "white." /kihci-kimiwan/ "it's raining hard" contains root /kiht-/ "big, greatly" (4.18). /misko-ci·ma·n/ "red canoe" contains root /miskw-/ "red" (4.42).

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[1] My data do not show clear cases of initial change as a process of derivation, as described by Bloomfield for Eastern Ojibwa, but see 2.11.

Derivational Suffixes

5.4. In primary derivation, roots are frequently followed by medial suffixes, occurring before the final. TI verb stem /kiša·pihkis-/ (as in /okiša·pihkisa·n/ "he heats it (stone or metal)") contains root /kiš-/ "hot," medial /-a·pihk/ "stone or metal," and final /-s/. Certain stems which always occur with personal prefixes (dependent stems) are analysed by Bloomfield as consisting only of medials and finals, with no root. Kin terms and names for body parts contain dependent stems: /niši·me·nss/ "my younger sibling," with dependent stem /-ši·me·nss-/ consisting of medial /-ši·m/ and final /-e·nss/ "diminutive"; /ništikwa·n/ "my head," with dependent stem /-štikwa·n/; /nininc/ "my hand," with dependent stem /-nincy-/. Dependent particle /-i·ci-/ occurs in compound /ni·ci-inini/ "my fellow Indian." Medials thus differ from roots in that they cannot begin words. Medials must be preceded either by a root or by an inflectional prefix. Roots and medials are not restricted to particular major word classes (noun, verb, particle), while finals are, in general, so restricted.

5.5. Some finals are complex, containing prefinal elements. For example, the complex final /-na·niwan/, added to AI verb stems, contains final /-wan/: /pikwaskisse·/ "he has insect bites," stem plus ending /-w/ dropped by 4.35, and secondary derivative /pikwaskisse·na·niwan/ "everybody has insect bites," II verb stem plus ending /-w/ dropped. Complex final /-itiso/ "reflexive" contains final /-so/. It is added to TA stems, yielding derived AI stems: /ako·nitiso/ "he hangs himself."

5.6. Many noun stems contain no analysable final. For these, Bloomfield postulates (zero) final. For example, noun stem /nihk-/ (in /nihka/ "goose," with ending /-a/) consists of root /nihk-/ and (zero) final. The root recurs with final /-min/ "berry" in /nihkimin/ "bilberry."

The prefinal element /-iti/, as in 5.5, apparently appears with (zero) final in the derivation of reciprocal (AI) verbs from TA stems: /wa·pam# itiwak/ "they see each other," with AI stem /wa·pamiti-/ and plural ending (complex) /-wak/. (Reciprocal verbs occur only with plural inflections.)

5.7. Medials and finals sometimes resemble roots. Final /-min/ "berry" given above is deverbal from the root /mi·n-/ which appears in /mi·nišš/ "berry." Deverbal medials frequently have the form of a root lacking the initial consonant: /missa·pe·/ "mythological being" contains root /miss-/ "big, greatly" and suffix /-a·pe·/ deverbal from root /na·pe·-/ "man." Medials sometimes have the same form as roots: /kwe·hkapi/ "he turns while sitting," with medial /-ap/ from root /ap-/ "sit."

5.8. Inanimate and animate intransitive verb finals often occur in pairs, for example /-te·/ "in." and /-so/ "an": /akinte·/ "it is counted, it costs" and /akinso/ "he is counted, he costs." /onte·/ "it (in.) boils" and /onso/ "it (an.) boils." Similarly, complex finals /-ssin/ "in." and /-ššin/ "an.": /pankissin/ "it (in.) falls from a height" and /pankiššin/ "he, it (an.) falls from a height." In a few cases the same final appears for inanimate and animate intransitive verbs: /-a·kaniwi/ complex final added in secondary derivation to transitive stems to form intransitive verbs with a passive meaning: /wa·panta·kaniwi/ "it (in.) is seen," from TI stem /wa·pant-/; /wa·pama·kaniwi/ "he, it (an.) is seen," from TA stem /wa·pam-/. Although these verbs may be translated by English "passives," they are simply derived intransitive verbs, with regular inflection for third and obviative subjects, but not 1 and 2 subjects. (English passives with 1 and 2 subjects are translated by TA forms with an indefinite subject, *see* 7.10.)

5.9. Similarly, transitive inanimate and animate verb finals often occur in pairs. TA stems with final /-am/ frequently form TI stems by secondary derivation with /-t/ added without augment (4.23): TA stem /wa·pam/ (/niwa·pama·/ "I see him"); TI stem /wa·pant-/ (/niwa·panta·n/ "I see it"); TA stem /mia·m-/ (/nimina·ma·/ "I smell him"); TI stem /mina·nt-/ (/nimina·nta·n/ "I smell it"). TA stems are sometimes derived with /-aw/ and /-w/ from TI stems: TA /no·ntaw-/ (/nino·ntawa·/ "I hear him"); TI stem /no·nt-/ (/nino·nta·n/ "I hear it"); TA stem /na·skaw-/ (/nina·skawa·/ "I fetch him"); TI stem /na·sk-/ (/nina·ska·n/ "I fetch it"); TA stem /no·hkahw-/ (/nino·hkahwa·/ "I crumble it (an.) to a powder"); TI stem /no·hkah-/ (/nino·hkaha·n/ "I crumble it (in.) to a powder").

6. Inflection of Nouns and Pronouns

Noun stems and possessed themes are inflected by closing suffixes to form unpossessed and possessed singular, plural, obviative, and locative forms. Pronouns are inflected for person and number.

In the following, an attempt is made to show the structure of nouns by describing each type of inflectional affix, starting from the stem and proceeding to closing suffixes. Examples follow in 6.6 for possessed and unpossessed nouns, in 6.8 for locative nouns.

Possessed Nouns

6.1. Animate and inanimate noun stems sometimes add a special theme sign in the formation of possessed themes, which are then inflected by personal prefixes and personal endings in all forms indicating the person and (with the exception of obviative possessors) the number of the animate possessor. In forms with obviative possessors, the personal ending does not indicate the number of the possessor; but if the noun possessed is inanimate, the personal ending indicates the obviative possessor and the number of the noun. Closing suffixes indicating number and obviation of the possessed noun (except with obviative possessors) are added after the personal endings.

6.2. Theme sign /-im/ is added to some stems in the formation of possessed themes. Animate stems, such as /a·nahkona·-/ "bannock," and inanimate stems, such as /wahkwy-/ "cloud," form possessed themes with /-im/. Other stems, such as animate /atihkame·kw-/ "whitefish" and inanimate /wa·hka·hikan-/ "house," lack /-im/ in possessed themes. Dependent stems in simple words occur only in possessed themes; none (in my data) take /-im/. The theme sign is added in accordance with 4.3, 31, 37, 43, 47.

6.3. Personal prefixes /ni-/ "I, we (excl.)," /ki-/ "you, we (incl.)" /wi-/ "he, she, they," occur in all possessed forms. Some dependent stems appear with prefix /mi-/ indicating an unspecified personal possessor: /mito·n/ "one's mouth." Others apparently have /wi-/, as in the compound /onihki-pi·ssimohka·n/ "wrist watch," with prior member dependent stem /-nihk-/ "arm." Prefixes are added in accordance with 4.3, 5, 24, 30.

Unpredictably, some words beginning with /w/ add the third person prefix /wi-/ to the stem (sometimes optionally) and then add the personal prefix indicating the possessor to the extended stem. For example, personal prefixes and personal endings are added to theme /-owa·po·so·m-/, containing stem /wa·po·sw-/ "rabbit": /ninto·wa·po·so·m/ "my rabbit." Several dependent stems beginning in /i·/ have alternate forms containing possessed themes with /wi-/ added: /ni·pit, niwi·pit/ "my tooth," with stem /-i·pit-/ and extended stem /-wi·pit-/; /ni·ya·w, niwi·ya·w/ "my body," with stem /-i·ya·w-/ and extended stem /-wi·ya·w/.

6.4. Personal endings indicating number and person of the possessor are added to possessed themes. The personal endings are very similar to those for the subjects of Independent transitive verb forms with 3, 4 objects (TA direct forms). The possessors are always animate.

1, 2, 3 S	-(zero)
1 Pe, 1 Pi	-ina·n
2, 3 P	-iwa·
4 S, P	-ini·n (optionally replaced by endings for 3 possessors)

Personal ending /-ini·n/ is optionally replaced by /-ini·wa·n/ to indicate an obviative possessor (S or P) with a plural in. object.

Pluralization and Obviation of An. and In. Nouns

6.5. Closing suffixes are added to noun stems and possessed themes (following personal endings) to indicate person, number, and gender of the noun.

In possessed forms, animate nouns with 3 possessors are always obviative, with 4 suffixes following the personal endings. There is no formal indication of number or obviation of animate nouns with 4 possessors.

Inanimate nouns with 3 possessors do not show obviation but have 3 in. suffixes. As noted above, inanimate nouns with 4 possessors may have complex personal ending /-ini·wa·n/ indicating plural objects.

Animate nouns:	3 S	-a
	3 P	-ak
	4 S	-an
	4 P	-a
Inanimate nouns:	3 S	-i
	3 P	-an
	4 S, P	-ni (optionally replaced by 3 endings)

Examples of Possessed and Unpossessed Nouns

6.6. *Animate.* /nihka/ "goose (3 S), geese (4 P)," with stem /nihk-/. /nihkak/ "geese (3 P)"; /nihkan/ "goose (4 S)." /na·pe·/ "man," with stem /na·pe·w-/ (4.11, 35). /na·pe·wak/ "men (3 P)"; /na·pe·wan/ "man (4 S)"; /na·pe·wa/ "men (4 P)." /oto·wa·po·so·man/ "his rabbit," with possessed theme /-owa·po·so·m-/. /ninto·wa·po·so·mina·n/ "our (excl.) rabbit." /okosissa/ "his sons," with dependent stem /-kosiss-/. /okosissiwa·n/ "their son." /kiwa·koma·kanak/ "your (S) friends," with stem /wa·koma·kan-/. /kita·nahkona·miwa·k/ "your (P) bannocks," with possessed theme /-a·nahkona·m-/. /otayiššiwa·n/ "their dog," with possessed theme /-tayišš-/. /otayiššiwa·/ "their dogs."

Inanimate. /missi/ "stick of firewood (3 or 4 S)," with stem /miss-/. /missan/ "sticks of firewood (3 or 4 P)"; /missini/ "firewood (4 S or P). /masinahikana·htik/ "pencil (3 or 4 S)," with stem /masinahikana·htikw-/ (4.11, 35). /masinahikana·htiko·n/ "pencils (3 or 4 P)," (4.41). /masinahikana·htikoni/ "pencil, pencils (4 S or P)," (4.16, 42). /kihka·tiwa·n/ "your (P) legs," with dependent stem /-hka·t-/. /ohka·t/ "his leg." /opišša·kaniya·pi·man/ "his ropes," with possessed theme /-pišša·kaniya·pi·m-/. /owa·hka·hikanini·n/ "the other's (4 S or P) house, houses," with possessed theme /-wa·hka·hikan-/. /owa·hka·hikanini·wa·n/ "the other's (4 S or P) houses." /kiwa·wimina·nan/ "our (incl.) eggs," with possessed theme /-wa·wim-/.

Obviative nouns can occur with 1 and 2 possessors, as in the sentence "He sees *my dog*." Obviation of such nouns is optional. /nintayišš/ "my dog (3)"; /nintayiššan/ "my dog (4)."

Locative Nouns

6.7. Animate and inanimate nouns are made locative by /-ink/ and /-ihka·nk/ (apparently with no difference in meaning between the two suffixes), added to noun stems or after the personal endings which follow possessed themes. A few forms with stems ending in a short vowel plus /w, y/ take /-a·nk, -a·hka·nk/ (*see* 4.37). The alternate stem form /maški·kiw-/ "muskeg," occurring beside /maški·kw-/, has locative form /maški·kiwa·nk/, in addition to regular locative forms /maški·ko·nk, maški·kohka·nk (*see* 4.43). The stem /apwy-/ "paddle" has the alternate form /apoy-/ from which comes locative /apoya·hka·nk/, occurring beside regular forms /apwi·nk, apwi·hka·nk/ (*see* 4.47).

There is no indication of number or obviation of locative nouns, i.e., the locative endings occupy the same position after the stem as plural and obviative suffixes.

As noted, the suffix /-ink/ occurs in some particles: /išpimink/ "up above," /aka·mink/ "across, on the other shore," /a·kwaci·nk/ "outside, out of doors."

Examples of Locative Nouns

6.8. /a·nahkona·nk, a·nahkona·hka·nk/ "in the bannock," with stem /a·nahkona·-/ (*see* 4.3). /ahkihko·nk, ahkihkohka·nk/ "in the kettle," with stem /ahkihkw-/ (*see* 4.42, 43). /pimite·nk, pimite·hka·nk/ "in the fat," with stem /pimite·w-/ (4.31). /inini·nk, inini·hka·nk/ "on the person," with stem /ininiw-/ (4.31). /wahkwi·nk, /wahkwi·hka·nk/ "in the cloud," with stem /wahkwy-/ (4.47). /mocissak(ay)a·nk, mocissak(ay)a·hka·nk/ "on the floor," with stem /mocissakay-/ (4.3, 37). /owa·hka·hikaniwa·nk, owa·hka·hikaniwa·hka·nk/ "in their house, houses," from possessed noun /owa·hka·hikaniwa·/ "their house." /onihkimink, onihkimihka·nk/ "on his goose, geese," from possessed noun /onihkim/ "his goose." /onihkink, onihkihka·nk/ "on his arm," with possessed noun theme (dependent stem) /-nihk-/ "arm."

Pronouns

6.9. Personal pronouns contain the dependent stem /-i·n-/ with personal prefixes: /ni·n/ "I"; /ki·n/ "you (S)"; /wi·n/ "he, she, it (an. or in.)." They are pluralized by /-awint/ for first person, /-awa·/ for second and third: /ni·nawint/ "we (excl.)"; /ki·nawint/ "we (incl.)"; /ki·nawa·/ "you (P)"; /wi·nawa·/ "they." There is no inflection for obviation.

6.10. There is a pair of indefinite pronouns, /awiya/ "someone, anyone, something (an.), anything (an.)" and /ke·ko·n/ "something (in.), anything (in.)." These are inflected regularly for plural: /awiyak/ (an.) and /ke·ko·nan/ (in.); and for obviative: /awiyan/ (an. S) and /awiya/ (an. P); /ke·ko·nan/ (in. P) and /ke·ko·nini/ (in. S and P). There is a further obviative inanimate form /ke·ko·nini·n/.

6.11. Interrogative pronouns are derived from the same roots as the indefinite pronouns: /awane·n/ "who, which (an.)" and /ke·ko·ne·n/ "which (in.)," inflected regularly as above for plural and obviative.

6.12. Demonstrative pronouns have some alternate forms and show root changes between singular and plural. There may be errors in the translations, as there is some indication of variation as to nearer and farther distinctions in some forms.

	"this"	*"that"*	*"that, farther away"*
An. 3 S	wa·hwa·wi	a·ha·wi	a·ha·we·ti
4 S	wa·hwa·we·n	a·ha·we·n	
3 P	okowe·niwak	ikiwe·niwak	
4 P	okowe·niwan	ikiwe·niwan	
In. 3 S	ohowi	ihiwi	ihiwe·ti
4 S	ohowe·nini	ihiwe·nini	
3, 4 P	onowe·niwan	iniwe·niwan	

Short forms given as alternates (with no indication of change in meaning) were:

An. 3 S	wa·hwa·	a·ha·
3 P	oko	iki
In. 3 S	oho	ihi
3 P	ono	ini

(Compare particles /ohoma·/ "here," /ihima·/ "there," and /we·ti/ "there, farther away.")

6.13. Other pronouns recorded were—

/kahki·yaw/ "everybody" (4 S /kahki·yawan/, 3 P /kahki·yawak/, 4 P /kahki·yawa/). The pronoun is optionally used with the plural inflections (Compare particle /kahkina/ "all").

/kotak/ "another, the other (an. and in.)" (3 P an. /kotakiyak/, 4 S an. /kotakiyan/, 4 P an. /kotakiya/; 3 P in. /kotakiyan/, also given for obviative). (Compare particle /kotak/ "other, another.")

7. Verb Inflections of the Independent Order

As in the description of noun inflections, types of affixes will be presented, in sequence from the stem, followed by examples in intransitive verbs in 7.5, transitive verbs in 7.14.

Since my data on modes other than the indicative are relatively scanty, inflections will be given for the indicative mode of intransitive and transitive verbs, followed by a section containing such data as exist for other modes (7.15–19).

Intransitive Verbs

7.1. Intransitive verbs differ according to the gender of the subject, usually with different stems. II verbs have inanimate subjects; AI verbs have animate subjects.

7.2. Personal prefixes /ni-/ "1 S, 1 Pe" and /ki-/ "2 S, P and 1 Pi" indicate 1 and 2 subjects of AI verbs. Prefix /wi-/ "3, 4" is absent except irregularly for a few AI stems where it appears optionally.

7.3. Personal endings for II verbs distinguish person (3, 4) of the subject, which may be an inanimate noun, or may be impersonal (e.g., "it's raining"). Personal endings for AI verbs indicate the person of the animate subject (1, 2, 3 S; 1, 2 P).

1, 2 S	-(zero)
1 Pe, Pi	-min
2 P	-na·wa·
3, 4 an., 3 in.	-w (dropped word finally by 4.35, 39; when retained, added optionally without augment to stems in /-n, -m/ by 4.28)
4 in.	-ni, -w

7.4. Third and obviative subjects of intransitive verbs, other than impersonal verbs, are pluralized by the same endings as appear with nouns.

3 P an.	-ak
4 S an.	-an
4 P an.	-a (retained in all forms, 4.11)
3, 4 P in.	-an

Examples of Intransitive Verbs

7.5. *II verbs.* /pankissin/ "it falls, drops," with stem /pankissin-/. /tahkwa·hkwaniwan, tahkwa·hkwano·n/ "they are short (sticks), with stem /tahkwa·hkwan-/ and merging of /wa/ to /o·/ by 4.41 if the augment is absent. /mišša·ni/ "it (4) is big," with stem /mišša·-/. /takosse·*niwan/ "they (4) come," with stem /takosse·-/.

AI verbs. /ninikam/ "I sing," with stem /nikamo-/; final short vowel of the stem lost by 4.12. /kisa·kahamin/ "we (incl.) go outside," with stem /sa·kaham-/; final /-m/ of stem coalescing with /m-/ of personal ending by 4.29. /pimiššinina·wa·/ "you (P) are lying down," with stem /pimiššin-/. /ihkito/ "he says (so)," with stem /ihkito-/. /takoššiniwan, takoššino·n/ "he (4) is coming," with stem /takoššin-/; merging of /wa/ to /o·/ by 4.41 if the augment is absent. /nikamowak/ "they are singing," with stem /nikamo-/. /masinahike·wa/ "they (4) write," with stem /masinahike·-/.

7.6. Some AI verbs have a real goal, not indicated in the verb inflections: /one·ntama·so nasse·ma·n/ "He chooses the tobacco (4)," with AI verb stem /one·ntama·so-/.

7.7. A few AI verbs show (sometimes optionally) the 3 prefix /wi-/: /minwa·tam, ominwa·tam/ "he's happy," with stem /minwa·tam-/. /ota·ncikima·hka·ni/ "he votes for a chief," with AI stem /a·ncikima·* hka·ni-/ as in /ninta·ncikima·hka·n/ " I vote for a chief."

7.8. Pseudo-transitive stems are like AI stems in form, i.e., they end in a vowel and take AI personal endings for 1 and 2 subjects. Personal endings (in the Independent, but not in the Conjunct Order) for 3, 4 subjects are like those of TI verbs (*see* below). Prefixes appear for all subjects. Pseudo-transitive forms all have theme sign /-n/ for the inanimate object (as in TI verbs), preceded by /-wa·/ for an obviative object with 1 and 2 subjects (where TI verbs have /-amwa·/). Objects of pseudo-transitive verbs are made obviative and pluralized like those of TI verbs (*see* below): /nimpi·to·n/ "I bring it," with stem /pi·to·-/; /nimpi·ta·wa·n/ "I bring it (4)," with final /o·/ of the stem replaced by /a·/ by 4.10; /opi·to·na·wa·/ "they bring it," with /n/ of theme sign coalescing with /n-/ of ending by 4.29.

Many pseudo-transitive verbs (or perhaps only those ending in/ -to·, -hto·/) occur beside regularized TI forms: /ninta·pacihto·n/ "I use it," with pseudo-transitive stem /a·pacihto·-/, and /ninta·pacihta·n/, with TI stem /a·paciht-/.

Transitive Verbs

7.9. Transitive verbs differ according to the gender of the object, usually with different stems for animate and inanimate. TI verbs show animate subjects with inanimate objects. TA verbs show animate and inanimate subjects with animate objects.

7.10. Theme signs indicate the person of the object (direct forms) or the subject (inverse forms). Most TI forms also contain theme sign /-n/, indicating an inanimate object.

In TI forms, the personal prefixes and personal endings always indicate the subject. Themes /-a·/ and /-n/ (dropping before an ending beginning with a nasal, by 4.29) indicate 3 in. objects with 1 and 2 subjects and 4, 5 in. objects with 3 an. subjects. Themes /-a·, -n/ are preceded by /-am, -w/ for 4 objects with 1 and 2 subjects. Theme /-am/ occurs alone for 5 objects with 4 subjects.

In TA forms involving 3, 4, or 5 an. subjects or objects, theme signs differ for direct and inverse forms. TA direct forms have theme sign /-a·/ for 3 objects with 1, 2 subjects, 4 objects with 3 subjects, 5 objects with 4 subjects. When 4 objects are acted upon by 1 and 2 subjects, /-a·/ is preceded by /-im/.

My data contain one form (used only by some informants) in which theme /-a·/ occurs, indicating a 3 object, but with no personal prefix and no personal endings following the theme sign. This form can be considered an indefinite actor form (X subject).

Theme sign /-ikw/ occurs in inverse inflections: 3 subjects with 1 and 2 objects, 4 subjects with 3 objects. An indefinite subject (X) is indicated by complex inverse theme sign /-iko·/, with forms for 1 and 2 objects.

TA forms for inanimate subjects with animate objects are inverse, with theme signs /-ikw, -n/.

TA forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object have theme signs /-išši/ for 1 object, /-inini, -ini/ for 2 object.

7.11, Personal prefixes are used in all TI and TA forms: /ni-/ "1 S, 1 Pe," /ki-/ "1 Pi, 2 S, P," /wi-/ "3, 4 S and P," /(zero)/ "X." In TI and TA direct forms, the prefix refers to the subject. In TA inverse forms, the prefix refers to the object. In TA forms involving only 1 and 2, prefix /ki-/ occurs in all forms.

7.12. Personal endings in forms involving 3 and 4 as subject or object are as follows. (Endings refer to subjects in TI and TA direct forms, objects in TA inverse forms.)

1, 2, 3 S (and X in TA)	-(zero)
1 Pe, 1 Pi	-min (varies with /-na·n/ in all TA forms except with X as subject)
2, 3 P	-wa· (/-a·wa·/ after C except Cw. /-na·wa·/ for 2 P in inverse forms with X as subject.)
4 S, P	-ini·n

Personal endings differ slightly in forms with 1 and 2 as subject and object. In these forms, if either subject or object is plural, the personal ending indicates the plural subject or object; if both are plural, the personal ending indicates 1 Pe.

1, 2 S	-(zero)
1 Pe	-na·m (varies with /-nim/)
2 P	-na·wa·

7.13. As shown above, in transitive forms involving 3 or 4 as subject or object, the personal endings indicate the subject (TI and psuedo-transitive forms, and TA direct forms) or the object (TA inverse forms). The other person involved may be shown to be plural or obviative by closing suffixes added after the personal endings. While personal endings are consistently employed, suffixes indicating plural and obviative "other persons" appear to be less consistently employed. In some cases these suffixes seem to be optional. More data are needed. The closing suffixes, when they occur, are regular.

3 P in.	-an (also used for 4 P in. objects with 3 subjects)
4 P in.	-in (varies with /-nin/ after V)
5 S in.	-ni (optional, for 5 objects with 3 subjects)
3 P an.	-ak
4 S an.	-an
4 P an.	-a (dropped in most forms by 4.11)

There are no special endings for 4 in. subjects (TA inverse), and there is no distinction for number of subject or object when 4 acts on 5 (TI, pseudo-transitive, and TA forms). Plural animate objects in TA direct forms (with /-ak/) and plural inanimate subjects in TA inverse forms (with /-an/) are indicated in all forms. Otherwise, /-ak/, /-an/ are omitted after 1 P personal endings. 4 P an. /-a/ is dropped in most forms by 4.11; it is only shown to be present in inverse forms with theme sign /-ikw/ and singular objects (with /-(zero)/ personal ending), where postconsonantal /wa/ becomes /o·/ by 4.41.

Examples of Transitive Verbs

7.14. *TI verbs.* /owa·panta·n/ "he sees it," with stem /wa·pant-/. /niwa·pantamwa·n/ "I see it (4)." /kipakite·ha·na·wa·/ "you (P) hit it," with stem /pakite·h-/. /kipakite·ha·na·wa·n/ "you (P) hit them," /ono·ntamini·n/ "he, they (4) hear it, them (5)," with stem /no·nt-/. *TA verbs.* /niwa·pama·/ "I see him," with stem /wa·pam-/. /niwa·*pamima·/ "I see them (4)." /kici·ssok/ "he stings you (S)," with stem /ci·ssw-/ and inverse theme sign /-ikw/, 4.42, 39. /niniška·tisi·hkantawik, niniška·tisi·hkanta·k/ "he's mad at me," with stem /niška·tisi·hkan*taw-/, variation by 4.31. /ninci·ssoko·/ "something stings me," with stem /ci·ssw-/. /wa·pama·/ "he is seen, somebody sees him," with stem /wa·pam-/. /ninci·htahokon ša·ponikan/ "the needle (in. subject) pricks me," with stem /ci·htahw-/, themes /-ikw, -n/. /kiwa·pamišš/ "you (S) see me," with stem /wa·pam-/, final vowel of theme sign /-išši/ lost by 4.11. /kiwa·pamin/ "I see you (S)." /kiwa·paminina·m, kiwa·pamininim, kiwa·paminim/ "we (excl.) see you (S or P)," haplology in theme sign /-inini/ optional, by 4.15, nasals coalescing by 4.29.

Modes in the Independent Other Than the Indicative

7.15. Mode signs for dubitative, preterite, and dubitative-preterite appear after the personal endings. (Indicative, as in all previous examples, could be thought of as shown by /-(zero)/ suffix in this position.) Another mode sign, or aspect, indicating negative or unlikely occurrences is attached to theme signs, before the personal endings, and may occur in the same forms with other mode signs.

Particle /ka·win/ appears in negative statements, preceding the verb.

7.16. Dubitative /-tok/, /-a·tok/ after C, indicates doubt or possibility. My data show forms for AI and TI verbs. 3 S AI personal ending /-w/ is lacking: AI /nikamotok/ "maybe he's singing," with stem /nikamo-/. /pimosse·tok/ "he may walk," with stem /pimosse·-/. TI forms have themes /-a·, -n/. My data show forms with singular objects only: /okihke·nta·na·tok/ "maybe he knows it," with stem /kihke·nt-/; /kikihke·nta·na·wa·tok/ "maybe you (P) know it."

7.17. Preterite /-pan/, /-a·pan/ after C, indicates an occurrence completed in the past. My data show forms for AI and TI verbs. 3 S AI personal ending /-w/ is lacking, and the final short vowel of an AI stem is lengthened before /-pan/: AI nikamo·pan/ "he used to sing (but not any more)," with stem /nikamo-/. /opima·tisi·pan/ "he once lived (but is now dead)," with stem /pima·tisi-/; the occurrence of the prefix /wi-/ in this form is unusual. /opima·tisi·pani·k/ "they once lived"; in this form, the mode sign appears as /-pany/, with /ya/ replaced by /i·/ by 4.47. TI forms have themes /-a·, -n/. My data show forms with singular objects only: /niwa·panta·na·pan/ "I saw it (in context: 'when it was visible—it is not there now')," with stem /wa·pant-/.

7.18. Dubitative-preterite /-kw, -pan/ indicates doubtful or possible occurrences in the past. My data show AI forms only, with 3 S personal ending /-w/ lacking: /nikamokopan/ "maybe he used to sing," with stem /nikamo-/.

7.19. Negative or unlikely occurrences are indicated by /-ssi·, -n/ and /-ssi, -no·n/ added to themes without augment, or sometimes optionally /-a·ssi·n/ after C. My data show a few forms for each major stem type. /-ssi·/ is given by Bloomfield for Southern or Eastern Ojibwa as a negative mode sign. In the Round Lake dialect it is not required for every negative statement, and indeed seems not always to be negative but to include some notion of improbability. Round Lake informants' command of English was not always sufficient for them to supply reliable English equivalents.

In II forms, 3 S personal ending /-w/ is lacking, and /-ssino·n/ occurs: /na·nta ka·win ta-tahka·ya·ssino·n/ "I hope it won't be cold"; particles /na·nta/ "would that, may it . . .," /ka·win/ "not"; II impersonal verb stem /tahka·ya·-/ "be cold"; /ka·win maškawa·ssino·n me·me·*pison/ "the swing is not strong," with II stem /maškawa·-/ "be strong."

In AI forms 3 S personal ending /-w/ is lacking, and /-ssi·n/ occurs with final /n/ combining with a following nasal by 4.29: /mi·na ninka-pi·*

ša·ssi·n/ "perhaps I'll come again; I don't know if I'll come again"; particle/mi·na/ "again," AI stem/pi·ša·-/ "come"; /ka·win ninka-pi·ša·*ssi·min/ "we probably won't come"; /ka·win wa·pissi·n/ "perhaps he doesn't see well" contrasts with /ka·win wa·pi/ "he doesn't see; he's blind."

In pseudo-transitive forms /-ssi·n/ occurs: /ka·win ke·ko·n oto·ci-pi·to·ssi·n/ "he didn't bring anything"; /ke·ko·n/ "something (pronoun, obviation neglected)," and compound pseudo-transitive stem /oci-pi·to·-/.

TI forms have /-ssi·n/ combining with theme /-am/ without augment (yielding /-anssi·n/), and alternate forms, apparently with the same meaning, with /-a·ssi·n/ after themes /-a·, -n/: /ninkihke·ntanssi·n/ "perhaps I know it"; /ka·win ninkihke·ntanssi·n/ "I guess I don't know it." Contrast /ka·win ninkihke·nta·n/ "I don't know it (definitely)." The preceding TI forms contain stem /kihke·nt-/; /ka·win ke·ko·n ninto·ci-wa·pantanssi·min/ "we (excl.) didn't see anything," with compound stem /oci-wa·pant-/; /ka·win kihke·ntanssi·n (ke·-ihkito·c)/ "he doesn't know (how to talk)"; the form without prefix varies freely with the form with the prefix: /okihke·ntanssi·n/, with stem /kihke·nt-/. The form /owa·pantanssi·n/ "perhaps he sees it" has alternate form /owa·panta·*na·ssi·n/.

TA forms have /-ssi·n/ after theme /-a·/ for 1 S subject with 3 object; /-ssino·n/ for forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object. /ka·win awiya niwa·pama·ssi·n/ "I don't see anybody"; /awiya/ "somebody," TA stem /wa·pam-/. The following two examples involve 1 and 2 as subject and object. If the forms were transcribed correctly and there was no error in translation, the TA themes /-išši/ and /-ini/ are lacking, and there is thus no formal contrast between "I-you" and "you-me." /ka·win kikihke·nimissino·n/ given as "I don't know you"; /ka·win kikihke·nimissino·n e·-anohki·wa·ne·n/ given as "you don't know (me) whether I'm working," with TA stem /kihke·nim-/.

Negative-dubitative forms have /-ssi·/ and /-tok/. AI 3 S personal ending /-w/ is lacking: /ka·win nikamossi·tok/ "he probably doesn't sing."

Negative preterite forms have /-ssi·/ and /-pan/. AI 3 S personal ending lacking: /ka·win nikamossi·pan/ "he didn't sing (then)."

Negative-dubitative-preterite forms have /-ssi·/ and /-kw, -pan/: /ka·win nikamossi·kopan/ "maybe he didn't sing (then)."

8. Verb Inflections of the Conjunct Order

As with inflections of the Independent Order, data on modes other than the indicative will be presented in concluding sections, 8.9–15. General statements made about intransitive and transitive verbs in the Independent apply also to the Conjunct and need not be repeated here. Personal prefixes are lacking in Conjunct forms.

Intransitive Verbs

8.1. Conjunct personal endings are as follows:

1 S	-a·n
1 Pe	-a·nk
1 Pi	-ank
2 S	-an
2 P	-e·k
3 S an.	-c
3 P an.	-wa·, -c
4 S an.	-ni, -c
3 S in.	-k (added to stems in /-n/ without augment) -hk (alternate form, perhaps only for impersonal II verbs; stems in /-n/ drop /n/)
4 S in.	-ni, -k

Personal endings beginning with a vowel are added to stems in V- with augment /-y-/, 4.2 (/y/ varies with /w/, 1.7).

8.2. 3 and 4 subjects of II verbs (other than impersonal verbs) are pluralized by closing suffix /-in/. Subjects of AI obviative verbs are pluralized by closing suffix /-i/. Note that pluralization and obviation of inanimate subjects are analogous for Independent and Conjunct; but that pluralization and obviation of animate subjects differ in Conjunct forms from Independent, and differ also from pluralization and obviation of inanimate subjects.

Examples of Intransitive Verbs

8.3. *II verbs.* /kimiwank, kimiwahk/ "if it's raining," with stem /kimiwan-/. /kimiwaninik, kimiwanik/ "if it (4) is raining," with haplology optional, 4.15. /miššа·kin/ "if they are big," with stem /mišša·- /mišša·nikin/ "if they (4) are big." /e·-ki·šika·k, e·-ki·šika·hk/ "while it is day," particle (probably showing initial change, *see* 2.10 and 8.9) compounded to stem /ki·šika·-/. /e·-ki·šika·nik/ "while it (4) is day."

AI verbs. /e·-mawinsoya·n, e·-mawinsowa·n/ "while I pick berries," particle compounded to stem /mawinso-/. /ki·špin nikamoyan/ "if you (S) sing," with AI stem /nikamo-/. /išinihka·soc/ "if his name is (so and so)," with stem /išinihka·so-/. /ihkitoya·nk/ "if we (excl.) say (so)," with stem /ihkito-/. /nikamoye·k/ "if you (P) sing," with stem nikamo-/. /anohki·*nic/ "if she (4) is working," with stem /anohki·-/. /nikamowạ·c/ "if they sing," with stem /nikamo-/; /nikamonici/ "if they (4) sing."

8.4. Pseudo-transitive stems are inflected in Conjunct forms by AI personal endings throughout. There is no formal indication of a singular in. object; plural objects are indicated by /-in/, as in TI forms. /ošihto·ya·n/ "if I make it," with stem /ošihto·-/. There is also the regularized TI form

/ošihta·ya·n/. /a·pacihto·c/ "if he uses it," with stem /a·pacihto·-/. /aya·c/ "if he has it"; the stem is here treated as pseudo-transitive /aya·-/. /aya·cin/ "if he has them." /a·pacihta·wa·c/ "if they have it," with stem /a·pacihto·-/, and /o·/ of stem replaced by /a·/ before /w/ by 4.10.

Transitive Verbs

8.5. TI verbs have theme sign /-am/ in all forms. Theme sign /-im/ follows theme /-am/ indicating an obviative in. object with 1, 2 plural subjects. Forms indicating an obviative object with 1, 2 singular subjects do not fit this pattern: theme signs /-am, -w/ occur, followed by personal endings which are otherwise restricted to TA forms.

In TA forms, theme sign /-im/, followed by other theme signs (direct /-a·/ and inverse /-inin/) indicates 4 objects with 1, 2 and X subjects (direct forms) and 4 subjects with 1 and 2 objects (inverse forms).

TA forms have direct theme sign /-a·/ or optionally /-(zero)/ for 3, 4 objects with 1, 2 P subjects, and /-(zero)/ for 3, 4 objects with 1, 2 S subjects. Direct theme sign /-a·/ is obligatory for 4 objects with 3 subjects and 5 objects with 4 subjects.

Direct theme sign /-inc/ indicates X subject with 3, 4 objects. Although the direct indefinite actor form in the Independent is only employed by some informants, it is generally and commonly employed in the Conjunct, with 3, 4 S and P objects.

Inverse theme /-ikw/ indicates 3 subjects with 1, 2 objects and 4 subjects with 3 objects. My data show no special forms for inanimate subjects with animate objects.

Inverse theme /-iko·/ indicates X subject with 1, 2 objects.

In addition to TA inverse forms with theme /-ikw/, there are direct forms for 3, 4 subjects with 1 S object with theme sign /-išši/, and inverse forms for 3, 4 subjects and 2 S, P and 1 Pe, Pi objects with theme sign /-inin/ or, with haplology, /-in/.

TA forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object have theme signs /-išši/ for 1 object, /-inin/ for 2 objects with 1 S subject, and /-inini/ for 2 objects with 1 Pe subject and 2 P objects with 1 S subject. Thus, two forms exist for 2 P objects with 1 S subject: one with theme sign /-in(in)/, and another with theme sign /-in(in)i/; *see* below.

8.6. Following are the personal endings for forms involving 3, 4 as subjects or objects (subjects in TI forms and TA direct forms; objects in TA inverse forms):

1 S	-a·n -ak, -akw (for 3, 4 an. objects in TA direct forms with theme /-(zero)/; and for 4 in. objects in TI forms with theme /-am, -w/)
1 Pe	-a·nk
1 Pi	-ank

2 S	-an -k (for objects in TA forms with theme /-in/, combining directly with theme yielding /-ihk/ by 4.17) -acw (for 3, 4 an. objects in TA direct forms with theme /-(zero)/, and for 4 in. objects in TI forms with themes /-am, -w/)
2 P	-e·k
X	-(zero) (in TA direct forms with theme /-inc/)
3 S an.	-c
3 S in.	-k (added to TI theme without augment, yielding /-ank/ by 4.23)
3 P an., in.	-wa·, -c
4 an., in.	-ni, -c (no distinction between S and P)
4 P an.	-ni, -c, -i (subjects in direct forms with theme /-išši/, 1 S object)

Personal endings beginning with V- have augment /-y-/ after V (4.2, 1.7).

Some of these personal endings appear in forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object. As in the Independent, personal endings indicate the subject if both subject and object are singular (not evident in Independent, where personal endings for 1, 2 S are /-(zero)/); personal endings indicate the plural person if one is plural and the other singular, and 1 Pe subject or object if both are plural.

1 S	-a·n (with theme /-inin/)
2 S	-an (with theme /-išši/)
1 Pe	-a·nk (with themes /-išši, -inini/)
2 P	-e·k (with themes /išši, -inini/)

There is an alternate form for 2 P object with 1 S subject, with theme sign /-inin/ and personal ending /-ako·k/. If this form is considered to contain personal ending /-akw/ plus /-e·k/, with merging of post-consonantal /we·/ to /o·/ by 4.44, the complex ending appears to be analogous to that of the direct form for a 3 P an. object with 1 S subject, which has /-akw/ plus /-wa·/; *see* below.

8.7. As noted above, in direct forms with 4 an. subjects and 1 S objects (with theme sign /-išši/), suffix /-i/ is added to show plural subjects. The ending /-i/ is attached to the personal ending and pluralizes the person indicated by this personal ending. These forms contrast with all others, where the closing suffix does not refer to the same person as the personal ending.

There are no closing suffixes indicating 4 S an. or in. subjects and objects after the personal endings. Closing suffixes indicating 3, 4 P are as follows:[1]

3 P an.	-wa·
3 P in.	-in
4 P an., in.	-i

TI forms do not show obviative inanimate objects by suffixes after the personal endings. Plural objects are indicated by /-in/ in all forms.

For TA verbs, occurrence of the closing suffixes must be listed, as several principles (sometimes contradictory) seem to be involved. TA inverse forms with theme sign /-ikw/ (and /-iko·/) do not show formally obviative or plural subjects in Conjunct forms. Direct forms with theme sign /-inc/ (X subject) show 3 P objects by /-wa·/ but do not formally indicate 4 S or P objects by closing suffixes. Obviative objects with 1 and 2 subjects are not shown by closing suffixes, but plural objects (3, 4) optionally have /-wa·/ if the subject is plural. 4 P objects with 3 subjects (direct forms with theme sign /-a·/) are shown by /-i/. 3 P and 4 P subjects in inverse forms with theme sign /-inin/ are shown by /-wa·/ and /-i/ if the subjects are singular.

Examples of Transitive Verbs

8.8. *TI verbs.* /akintama·n/ "if I count it," with stem /akint-/. /no·ntamwakin/ "if I hear them (4)," with stem /no·nt-/. /wa·pantank/ "if he sees it," with stem /wa·pant-/. /wa·pantamankin/ "if we (incl.) see them." /pakinte·hamime·k/ "if you (P) hit it, them," with stem /pakinte·h-/. /akintamiwa·c/ "if they count it," with stem /akint-/.

TA verbs. /no·ntawe·k/ "if you (P) hear him," with stem /no·ntaw-/. /wa·pamima·nk, wa·pamima·ya·nk "if we (excl.) see him, them (4)," with stem /wa·pam-/. /amwa·nic/ "if he, they (4) eat him (5)," with stem /amw-/. /no·ntawa·ci/ "if he hears them (4)," with stem /no·*ntaw-/. /nissinc/ "if he is killed, if somebody kills him," with stem /niss-/. /nissiminc/ "if somebody kills him, them (4)." /wa·pamintwa·/ "if somebody sees them," with stem /wa·pam-/, /c/ mutating before /w/ by 4.20. /papa·hpišimikowa·c/ "if he, they (4) joke with them (3)," with stem /papa·hpišim-/. /wa·pamikoya·n/ "if he, they (3, 4) see me," with stem /wa·pam-/. /no·ntawikowe·k, no·nta·kowe·k "if he, they (3, 4) see you (P)," with stem /no·ntaw-/ and variation by 4.31. /pahki·miko·*wan/ "if something (an insect) bites you (S)," with stem /pahki·m-/. /wa·pamiššic/ "if he sees me," with stem /wa·pam-/. /wa·pamiššinici/ "if they (4) see me." /wa·pamiššiye·k/ "if you (P) see me." /wa·pam*iššiya·nk/ "if you (S, P) see us (excl.)." /wa·pamininiye·k, wa·pamini* ye·k; wa·pamininako·k, wa·paminako·k/ "if I see you (P)," the first pair with theme sign /-inini/, the second with theme sign /-inin/, and optional haplology. /wa·paminina·n/ "if I see you (S)," with theme sign /-inin/. /wa·paminine·k/ "if he, they see you (P)." /wa·pamihk/ "if he sees you (S)." /wa·pamihkwa·/ "if they see you (S)." /wa·pamihki/ "if they (4) see you (S)."

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[1] If the personal ending /-ako·k/, 2 P object with 1 S subject, is considered analogous to personal ending /-akw/ plus pluralizing suffix /-wa·/, then /-ek/ must be considered both as a personal ending (common to transitive and intransitive Conjunct forms) and as a pluralizing suffix with only one occurrence.

Modes in the Conjunct Other Than the Indicative

8.9. Mode signs for iterative, preterite, dubitative, and dubitative-preterite appear after the personal endings. In addition, many Conjunct forms show initial change. Although the subtleties of meaning differences are not always given in English equivalents, initial change seems usually to indicate specificity of occurrence. My data show contrast between simple and changed forms in the indicative, preterite, and dubitative modes; iterative and dubitative-preterite forms seem to occur only with initial change. Initial change is here treated as a tense-aspect marker.

The negative particle used with Conjunct verbs is /e·ka·/. Conjunct forms (in my data) do not occur with /-ssi·/.

8.10. All Conjunct examples previously given illustrate the indicative mode, some in changed tense-aspect. Other changed forms include /e·nama·c/ "(that) he has bitten him," with TA stem /inam-/; this can be a complete utterance—for example, the answer to a question asking what happened, when a dog has just bitten someone. /a·n e·šinihka·soc/ "What is his name?" with AI stem /išinihka·so-/.

8.11. Changed Conjunct forms are employed as nouns (participles): /niwa·panta·n me·sina·hkite·kin/ "I see the pictures"; compare II Independent verb /masina·hkite·/ "there is a picture." /we·kima·wa·tisic/ "Indian agent"; compare AI Independent /okima·wa·tisi/ "he is the boss." /te·pe·ncike·yan/ "Lord," form of address used in prayer ("you who lead"); compare AI Independent /tipe·ncike·/ "he leads." /ka· pimina·makahk/ "airplane"; relative particle /ka·/ (?) with Conjunct II form containing II stem /pimina·makan-/ "fly."

8.12. Iterative mode has /-in/ after simple Conjunct personal endings, indicating repeated occurrence. All forms show initial change. II /ke·miwankin/ "whenever it rains," with stem /kimiwan-/. AI /maya·ca·ya·nin/ "whenever I go," with stem /ma·ca·-/. TA /nwa·ntawakin/ "whenever I hear him," with stem /no·ntaw-/. Iterative forms sometimes show reduplication. The initial consonant plus vowel of the stem is repeated, with initial change affecting only the first occurrence. /ke·kimi* wankin, ke·miwankin/ "whenever it rains." /te·tahka·ya·kin, te·hka·* ya·kin/ "whenever it's cold," with stem /tahka·ya·-/.

8.13. Preterite mode has /-pan, -pa·n/ after personal endings, indicating a completed occurrence in the past. The mode suffixes are added to the personal endings for 1 S and 3 S an. without augment. 3 S an. ending /-c/ is replaced by /h/ before /-pan/. 3 S in. ending /-k/ is followed by augment /-i-/ before /-pan/. II /a·n-ahpi· ka·-tahka·ya·kipan/ "When was it last cold?" with stem /tahka·ya·-/ compounded with preverb /ki·-/ in changed form. Contrast /a·n-ahpi· ka·-tahka·ya·k/ "When was it cold?" AI /ka·-ininohki·hpan/ "that he had a job," with compound stem /ki·-ininohki·-/. /kikihke·nta·n ka· ki·-ininohki·ya·mpa·n/ "You know (it) that I had a job (and maybe still do)"; the preterite form, preceded by relative particle /ka·/ does not show initial change. Final /n/ of personal ending /-a·n/ is assimilated to /m/ before /-pa·n/ by 4.23.

8.14. Dubitative mode has /-e·n/ added to personal endings, indicating clauses of doubt or unrealized action. Personal endings beginning in V- are preceded by /w/, not /y, w/. An exception is the 1 S ending /-akw/, which is added to theme /-a·/ directly (4.3) or with /w/. 3 S an. personal ending /-c/ is replaced by /-kw/. /ki·-wa·pama·kwe·n, ki·-wa·pama·wakwe·n/ "whether I saw him," with compound stem /ki·-wa·pam-/. The form also occurs in changed tense-aspect: /ka·-wa·pama·*wakwe·n/. Presumably, the latter form indicates a specific occurrence: "whether I saw him on that particular occasion." /ka·win ninkihke·*ntanssi·n a·n-ahpi· ke·-wa·pama·wakwe·n/ "I don't know (it) when I may see him"; the form with compound TA stem /ka-wa·pam-/ shows initial change of preverb particle /ka-/ "future." /ki·špin e·hkitowane·n/ "if you say (so)," with initial change in AI stem /ihkito-/. /ki·špin e·ka· ke·-ontami·wa·ne·n/ "if I'm not (will not be) busy," with initial change in AI compound stem /ka-ontami·-/. /ka·win ninkihke·ntanssi·n ke·-ihkitokwe·n/ "I don't know (it) whether he will say so," with initial change in AI compound stem /ka-ihkito-/.

8.15. Dubitative-preterite mode, /-pan, -pa·n/ plus /-e·n/, is used for past contrary to fact clauses. II personal ending /-k/ is replaced by /-kw/. Personal endings beginning in V- are preceded by /y, w/. II /ki·špin e·ka· te·ssapi·win ki·-nipi·wanikopane·n/ "if the seat had not been wet . . . "; the dubitative-preterite form /ki·-nipi·wanikopane·n/ contains compound II stem /ki·-nipi·wan-/. /kišiwa·ya·kopane·n/ "if it had been warm," with stem /kišiwa·ya·-/. /niwa·panta·n me·sina·*hkite·kopane·n/ "I see where there used to be a picture (?)"; although the meaning was not made clear,[1] the second form seems to be a dubitative-preterite participle. Compare participle /me·sina·hkite·k/ "picture, drawing," with II stem /masina·hkite·-/. /ki·špin e·ka· ininohki·ya·*mpa·ne·n/ "if I had not had a job," with AI stem /ininohki·-/.

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[1] C. D. Ellis suggests "there must have been a picture (or) there was apparently a picture."

9. Verb Inflections of the Imperative Order

Imperative forms occur with 2 and 1 Pi subjects. Forms with 2 subjects occur in present and delayed tense-aspect. Negative commands have /ka·win/ or /e·ka·win/ before the Imperative verb. No prefixes occur in the Imperative.

Intransitive Verbs

9.1. Theme sign /-w/ occurs after pseudo-transitive stems, indicating 4 objects with 2 S and P subjects.

9.2. Delayed Imperative forms have /-hka/, /-a·hka/ after C, added to the stem or the theme sign, if it occurs.

9.3. Personal endings are as follows:

2 S	-n (dropped after theme sign /-w/ of psuedo-transitive forms)
2 P	-k, -ok after C (stems ending in V optionally add /w/ and take /-ok/) -e·k (after delayed tense-aspect marker /-hka/)
1 Pi	-ta·

9.4. There is no formal indication of plural objects of pseudo-transitive forms.

Examples of Intransitive Verbs

9.5 *AI verbs.* /nikamon/ "sing (2 S)," with stem /nikamo-/. /pi·ša·k, pi·ša·wok/ "come (2 P)," with stem /pi·ša·-/. /nikamok, nikamo·k/ "sing (2 P)," with stem /nikamo-/, /owo/ in second form replaced by /o·/ by 4.33. /pimiššinin/ "lie down (2 S)," with stem /pimiššin-/, augment /-i-/. nikamota·/ "let's sing," with stem /nikamo-/. /ma·ca·hkan/ "go later (2 S)," with stem /ma·ca·-/. /pi·ntike·hke·k/ "come inside later (2 P)," with stem /pi·ntike·-/.

Pseudo-transitive /pi·to·n/ "bring it, them (2 S)," with stem /pi·* to·-/. /pi·ta·w/ "bring it, them (2 S subject, 4 object)," with final /o·/ of stem replaced by /a·/ before /w/ by 4.10, and final /w/ retained by 4.35. /pi·to·ta·/ "let's bring it, them." /a·pacihto·k/ "use it, them (2 P), with stem /a·pacihto·-/. /wi·hkopita·wok/ "tie it, them (2 P subject, 4 object)," with stem /wi·hkopito·-/. /pi·to·hkan/ "bring it, them later (2 S)," with stem /pi·to·-/. /pi·ta·wa·hke·k/ "bring it, them later (2 P subject, 4 object)."

Transitive Verbs

9.6. TI verbs have theme sign /-am/ in all forms: /-am/ for 3 objects in present forms; /-amo·/ for 4 objects in present forms and for 3 objects in delayed forms; /-amw/ for 4 objects in delayed forms.

TA verbs have theme sign /-a·/ for 3, 4 objects with 1 Pi subjects. There is no theme sign (or /-(zero)/) for 3 objects with 2 S and P subjects. Theme sign /-im/ indicates 4 objects with 2 S and P subjects. Theme sign /-išši/ indicates 1 object in present forms, and /išši·/ (/-išši, -yi/) for 1 object in delayed forms.

9.7. Delayed forms have /-hka/, /-a·hka/ after C, added to stem or theme sign.

9.8. Personal endings for inanimate objects (TI verbs) are as follows:

2 S	-n (lacking after theme /-amo·/; added to theme /-am/ without augment, yielding /-an/ by 4.29)
2 P	-k, -ok after C -e·k (after delayed tense-aspect marker /-hka/)
1 Pi	-ta· (added to theme sign without augment; theme /-am/ plus /-ta·/ yields /-ata·/ by 4.25)

Personal endings for 3, 4 animate objects (TA verbs) are as follows:

2 S	-y (dropped by 4.46)
2 P	-ihk -e·k (after delayed tense-aspect marker /-hka/)
1 Pi	-ta·

As in the Independent and Conjunct, the personal ending indicates the 2 subject if the 1 object is singular, and the 1 object if 1 Pe is involved. Personal endings:

2 S subject (1 S object)	-n
2 P subject (1 S object)	-yo·k -e·k (after delayed /-hka/)
2 subjects (1 Pe object)	-na·m

9.9. There are no suffixes added after personal endings to show plural objects.

Examples of Transitive Verbs

9.10. *TI verbs.* /wa·pantan/ "look at it, them (2 S)," with stem /wa·pant-/. /wa·pantamo·/ "look at it, them (4) (2 S)." /wa·panta*mok/ "look at it, them (2 P)." /wa·pantamo·k/ "look at it, them (4) (2 P)." /wa·pantamo·hke·k/ "look at it, them later (2 P)." /wa·pan*tamwa·hkan/ "look at it, them (4) later (2 S)."

TA verbs. /ki·škiso/ "cut it, them (2 S)," with stem /ki·škisw-/; /w/ replaced by /o/ and retained after the loss of personal ending /-y/ by 4.40, 46. /mi·š/ "give (it, them) to him, them (2 S)," with stem /mi·n-/ showing mutation (4.17). /mi·nim/ "give (it, them) to him, them (4) (2 S)." /mi·nimihk/ "give (it, them) to him, them (4) (2 P)." /wa·pamin/ "look at him, them (4) (2 S)," with stem /wa·pam-/. /wa·pama·ta·/ "let's look at him, them." /wa·pama·hkan/ "look at him, them later (2 S)." /wa·pamina·hke·k/ "look at him, them (4) later (2 P)." /mi·niššin/ "give (it, them) to me (2 S)," with stem /mi·n-/.

/mi·niššiyo·k/ "give (it, them) to me (2 P)." /wa·pamišši·hkan/ "see me later (2 S)," with stem /wa·pam-/. /mi·nišši·hke·k/ "give (it, them) to me later (2 P)," with stem /mi·n-/.

10. Sentences and Short Texts

Borrowed English words are given approximately as spoken, with added phonemes /r l/.

1. ninka-ine·nt pe·šiko-tipahikan isisse·k//
   "I'll be gone for an hour."
2. ninka-ma·ca· pe·šiko-tipahikan isisse·k//
   "I'll go off in an hour."
3. mi·nawa· ke·-tawahte·nik ta-ma·ca·//
   "He'll go off in a week."
4. pe·šiko-tawahte· ta-ine·nti//
   "He'll be away for one week."
5. iškwa· pe·šiko-tawahte· isisse·nik/ ta-ma·ca·//
   "After one week has passed, he will go off."
6. ošikopito·n ni·piša·hkwahikanini//
   "She crumbles a 'stickful of fish.' " (i.e., the fish skewered on a stick and smoked or dried)
7. ošikopina·n kino·še·n//
   "She crumbles the (dried) fish."
8. ota·nciha·n ono·hkahikaniman//
   "She puts her fish-powder in a box."
9. mi·we· pinima·//
   "That's all for now."
10. e·ka· wa·pantama·n//
    "Oh, I didn't see it."
11. a·sa wi·pac ninka-ki·we·min//
    "Soon now we'll go home."
12. otaya·wa·n animoššan//
    "He has a dog."
13. ka·win awiya niwa·pama·ssi·n//
    "I don't see anybody."
14. kotak ke·ko·n niwa·panta·n//
    "I see something else."
15. kotak awiya niwa·pama·//
    "I see somebody else."
16. ke·-kimiwankin toronto·nk kika-aya·min pi·ntikamink//
    "Whenever it rains in Toronto, we'll be inside."
17. ninki·-ci·htahokon ša·ponikan//
    "The needle pricked me."
18. wi·n ninki·-ci·htahok ša·ponikanini//
    "He pricked me with a needle."

19. niwa·pama· wacitamo·//
"I see a squirrel."
20. niwa·pama·k wacitamo·k//
"I see the squirrels."
21. wi·n owa·pama· wacitamo·//
"He sees the squirrels."
22. wi·n owa·pama·n wacitamo·n//
"He sees a squirrel."
23. ki·špin a·ši·wisic awiya·šši·šš/ nintašimiko·//
"If an animal acts queerly, I am warned."
24. ki·špin awiya papa·hpišimine·k (papa·hpišimikowe·k)/ ka·win antohtawihk//
"If anybody jokes with you (P), don't listen to him."
25. ninka-ma·ca· ninkantawi-anohki·//
"I'm going to go off and go to work."
26. ninkakwe·cima· ke·ko·nini//
"I ask him something."
27. a·ha·wi ka· inikinic wi·n onci-mincito//
"That other one (an.) is bigger than he is."
28. wa·hwa·wi awa·šišš wi·n onci-mincito/ a·ha· ka· inikininic//
"This child is bigger than that one."
29. ota·nissan mincitowan//
"Her daughter is big."
30. ka·win ninkihke·ntanssi·n ke·-ihkitokwe·n//
"I don't know what he may say."
31. ni·n nimincit ahpi·hc wi·n ka· inikinic//
"I am bigger than he is."
32. ni·n nimincit ahpi·hc ki·n ka· inikiniyan//
"I'm bigger than you are."
33. ka·nika a·n-ahpi· ke·-wa·pama·kwe·n//
"It's doubtful when I may see him."
34. nimina·nta·n ke·ko·n e·-mino-ma·kwahk//
"I smell something that smells good."
35. owi·ntama·wa·n ci-mi·ka·sonic//
"He tells him to fight."
36. niwi·ntama·wa· ci-mi·ka·soc//
"I tell him to fight."
37. ka·win okihke·ntanssi·n ke·-ihkitoc//
"He doesn't know how to talk."
38. ka·win maškawa·ssino·n me·me·pison//
"The swing is not strong."
39. ka·win ninkihke·ntanssi·n a·n-ahpi· ke·-wa·pama·kwe·n//
"I don't know when I may see him."
40. a·ntine·hke· ka·-iša·c//
"Which way did he go?"

41. na·nta ninka-wa·pama· wa·paninik//
"Maybe I'll see him tomorrow."
42. ona·ko ki··-ma·ca·ya·n ninki··-a·hkos ninsitink//
"Yesterday when I went off, I hurt my foot."
43. pa·hte· mako·t//
"The coat is dry."
44. ani-pa·hte· mako·t//
"The coat is getting dry."
45. owa·wa·panta·n masinahikanini//
"He's looking at the book."
46. owa·panta·n masinahikanini//
"He sees the book."
47. e··-pi·nahank niwa·pantamwa·n//
"When he enclosed it (put it in something), I saw it."
48. ona·ko oki··-pi·naha·n wiya·ssini//
"Yesterday he enclosed the meat."
49. niwa·pama· e··-tahkona·c kihci-assini·n//
"I see him picking up the big stone."
50. kiša·kamite··-na ti·// ka·win/ ma·ya·m minwa·ššin//
"Is the tea hot?" "No, it's just right."
51. ihkwe· ota·nissa pimiššiniwak//
"The woman and her daughters are lying down."
52. ki·špin wa·pamina·n we·ti mihkwami·hka·nk/ ka-kano·nin//
"If I see you there on the ice, I'll call you back."
53. niwa·pama·k awiyak//
"I see some people."
54. owa·pama·n awiyan//
"He sees someone."
55. owa·pama· awiya//
"He sees some people."
56. owa·panta·n ke·ko·nini (ke·ko·n)//
"He sees something."
57. owa·panta·nan ke·ko·nini (ke·ko·nan)//
"He sees some things."
58. ota·nissan owa·panta·n (owa·pantamini·n) ke·ko·nini//
"Her daughter sees something."
59. ninkikiškawima·n ota·ssan//
"I'm wearing his pants."
60. ninkikiškawa· ninta·ss//
"I'm wearing my pants."
61. niwa·pama·k mišši·n wa·po·so·k//
"I see many rabbits."
62. ka-wa·pamin pi·ša·yan//
"I'll see you when you come."

63. ma·ško·c wi·pac kiki·šihto·n mako·t//
"Perhaps you'll finish the coat soon."
64. masinahikana·htiko·n nintakinta·nan//
"I count the pencils."
65. masinahikana·htiko·n akincika·te·wan//
"The pencils are counted."
66. ninka-amwa· wa·paninik (wa·pank) wa·po·s//
"I'll eat the rabbit tomorrow."
67. oka-amwa·n wa·paninik (wa·pank) wa·po·so·n (wa·po·s)//
"He'll eat the rabbit tomorrow."
68. na·pe· oki·nawe·nima·n otihkwe·man//
"The man longs for his woman."
69. oki·nawe·nima· oto·te·ma//
"He longs for his friends."
70. a·n e·šinihka·te·k//
"What is it called?"
71. a·n e·šinihka·soc//
"What is he called?"
72. a·n e·šinihka·soyan//
"What is your name?"
73. a·hkosi pe·šik ninta·niss//
"One of my daughters is sick."
74. kaye· ni·n ninta·kimak pe·šikwan//
"Me too, my snowshoes are the same."
75. kika-ki꞉we·na·wa·-na//
"Are you (P) going home?"
76. ninki·-ki·šihto·n ona·ko//
"I finished it yesterday."
77. ninka-ki·šihto·n wa·pank//
"I'll finish it tomorrow."
78. e·-kinakisiya·n ninka·hka·škipinitis//
"When I itch, I scratch myself."
79. kihkinahwa·ma·kihkwe· minsiwẹ· iša· wa·hka·hikanink//
"The teacher goes to all the houses."
80. ninki·-si·kiwe·pina·n nipi·šš//
"I threw away the dirty water."
81. e·škam pe·sihka· tipahikan//
"Sometimes an hour passes slowly."
82. ona·ska·n// opi-na·ska·n//
"She gets it (fetches it). She comes and gets it."
83. ka·win (e·ka·win) wa·ssa ci-ma·ca·//
"You mustn't go far."
84. okihke·nta·n kita-anohki·nic//
"He knows that the other has to work."

85. niwi·-anohki·//
"I want to (intend to, have to) work."
86. ka·win ninci-ma·ca·//
"I can't go."
87. ninki·-ka·ki·we·-nikamohto·n//
"I sang it over and over again."
88. ta-wi·-pipo·no·hke·//
"He will want to make it winter."
89. nintiškwa·-anohki·//
"I'm through working."
90. a·nti ka·-iša·ye·k//
"Where did you (P) go?"
91. ki·špin e·ka· ontami·wa·mpa·ne·n/ ninta·ki·-iša·//
"If I had not been busy, I would have gone."
92. mi·na ka·win onci-a·nciha·kaniwissi·n//
"He was not elected again that time."
93. antawi-kano·š /kita-nikamoc//
"Go and call her; she is to sing."
94. ni·n e·hta ninka-ki·-to·ta·n//
"I'm the only one who can do it."
95. ona·ko ninki·-pi·ša· kiki·-pi-wi·ci·win//
"Yesterday I came here with you."
96. ki·-pi·ša· e·-ki·-pi-wi·ci·wiššit//
"He came here with me."
97. wi·n ke·-ki·-nikamoc//
"He is one who can sing."
98. pa·nima· ta-pi·ša·//
"You are to come later."
99. nimpi-ki·yoke·//
"I'm coming to visit."
100. ki·-nihta·-wa·hka·hike·//
"He always built houses."
101. ninta·ki·-ap ki·špin e·ka· nipi·wank//
"I would sit down if it were not wet."
102. pi·ntike·n kawaciyan// ti· ci-minihkwe·yan ki·špin kawaciyan//
"Come inside if you're cold. You can drink tea if you're cold."
103. ahpi· ki·-ni·pink ninki·-mawinsomin// pe·šikwa·tašš e·-mawin* sowa·n ninki·-ci·ssok a·mo·// wi·n ke·tašš ki·-kihci-pa·ka·/ ninki·-pa·kissiya·n nininci·nk//
"When it was summer (last summer), we were picking berries. Then, once while I was picking berries a bee stung me. Then (?) it got (gets) very swollen; my hand swelled up (I swelled up on my hand)."
104. no·nkom ka· ke·-kišše·pa·ya·k ninki·-ci·htahoko·min// ke·ka·t kahkina awa·šiššak ki·-ci·htahwa·kaniwiwak//

"Now when it was morning (this morning), we were vaccinated. Almost all the children were vaccinated."

105. ka· ki·-šo·niya·hka·k ki·-tipahama·tina·niwan/ mi·na ki·-ša·*
pwa·hte·ššinina·niwan // ka· iškwa·-tipahama·tina·niwank ki·-
a·ncikima·hka·niwan/ išinihka·so na·pe· a·lkripa· pe·nsan//
mi·na oki·-a·nciha·wa·n onaššiwe·w-ininiwan/ ni·nšin onaššiwe·w-
ininiwak ki·-aya·wak // pe·šik ihkwe· ki·-onaššiwe·w-ihkwe·wi
i·pa a·tams// mi·na ka·win onci-a·nciha·kaniwissi·n cwa·ti·
matawa·pit/ kiya·pac wi·n onaššiwe·w-inini·wi// wi·nawa·
aniššininiwak ki·-kakwe·cima·kaniwiwak// oki·-i·na·wa·n kiya·*
pac kita-anohki·nic ka·-ininohki·hpan // ka·win onci-no·ntanssi·n
cwa·ti e·-ki·-onaššiwa·niwaninik/ ki·-no·nte·-ma·ca· antawi-
anohki· tawikahikanink//

"When it was treaty time, everybody was paid, and everybody was X-rayed. When the payment was finished, there was a chief-election; the man is named Agrippa Benson. And they elected a councillor; there were two councillors (already). One woman was a woman-councillor, Eva Adams. Geordie Metawapit was not re-elected; he is still a councillor. The Indians were asked questions (about him). They answered that he had to work, that he had a job. Geordie didn't hear about it at the time when the meeting was held; he had just gone off to go to work on the survey line."

106. ahpi· e·-kišše·pa·ya·nik e·-waniška·wa·c niši·me·nšak/ še·ma·k
wi·-taši·hke·wak// e·-minwe·ntamiwa·c e·-papa·mipahtowa·c
mi·na e·-me·me·pisowa·c e·-po·šiwi-to·he·wa·c//

"When it's morning, when my younger siblings get up, they want to play the first thing. How they like it, running around and swinging and playing marbles."

107. pahkwe·šikan ninta·paciha·na·n e·-ošihank a·nahkona·/ kaye·
ompisikan pe·šiko-e·mihkwa·n// mi·na nima·ma·kona·na·n//
mi·ye·htako-minikohk e·nto·tawank// pimite· nintišipakitina·min
pa·n-ahkihko·nk// e·škwa·-ma·ma·kona·nk pimite· pa·n-ahkih*
ko·nk nininkisa·min/ e·-iškwa·-ninkisama·nk pimite· a·nah*
kona· nintišipakitina·na·n pa·n-ahkihko·nk//

"We use flour when we make bannock, also one spoonful of baking powder. And we knead it. That's all we do. We put lard there in the frying pan. After we knead it, we melt lard in the frying pan. When we have finished melting the lard, we put the bannock there in the frying pan."

108. e·-pa·ssame·c nima·ma· kino·še·n mi·na e·-no·hkahike·c/ e·-išk*
wa·-ki·siswa·c ošikopina·n ni·piša·hkwahikanan/ e·-no·hkahike·c
e·iškwa·-no·hkahike·c mi·na ota·ncikwanapina·n ono·hkahikani*
man/ mi·na kotakiyan ošikopina·n e·-wi·-no·hkahwa·c//

"When my mother smokes (dries) fish and makes fish-powder, while she finishes cooking it, she crumbles the "stickfuls of fish"; when she makes fish-powder, on finishing making fish-powder she puts her fish-powder in a box, and she crumbles another one (fish) intending to make it into fish-powder."

109. e·-ni·pink ma·wac mišši·niwak sakime·k/ mi·na pihkoci·ssiwak ma·wac wi·ssakantwe·wak e·-ma·kwancike·wa·c// e·-pahki·* ntwe·wa·c kinakisina·niwan e·-pikwaskisse·na·niwak// ma·wac nimace·nima·k e·-pahki·miššiwa·c// mi·we·/ ka·win ke·ko·n a·cimo·win//

"In the summer the mosquitoes are very numerous, and the black flies cause much itching when they bite. When they are biting, everybody itches since everybody has bites. I don't like them at all when they bite me. That's all, no news."

110. ohowi masinahikan// niwa·wa·panta·n// e·-wa·pantama·n ka·masina·hkite·kin ohoma· masinahikanihka·nk// mi·na na·nta nintaya·mihto·n//

"This (is) a book. I'm looking it all over. I'm looking at it where there are pictures here in the book. And I'm reading some of it."

11. Glossary

The glossary contains words appearing in the preceding sections. Nouns (n. an., in.) are given in 3 S form, followed by the stem if it differs in shape. Pronouns (pron.), unless specified as to person and number, are given in 3 S form. Dependent noun stems (dep. n. an., in.) are given alphabetically, followed by the form with 1 S possessor. II and AI verbs are given in the Independent indicative form with 3 S subject (unless otherwise specified); pseudo-transitive (PsT), TI and TA verb stems are given, followed by the Independent indicative form with 3 S subject, obviative object. Free particles (p.) are given, followed by the stem if it differs in shape; bound particles (p. preverb, prenoun) are given in the form they show as prior members of compounds. Question marks indicate missing data for some forms.

Alphabetical order: /i, i·, e·, a, a·, o, o·, p, t, c, k, s, š, h, m, n, w, y/.

-i-

iki, ikiwe·niwak pron. an. 3 P "those"
isisse· II "it (time) passes"
išipakitin- TI /otišipakitina·n/ "he puts it there"
TA /otišipakitina·n/ "he puts him there"
išihto·- PsT /otišihto·n/ "he makes it so"
išihcike· AI "he makes things so"
išihcika·so AI "he is generally made so"
išinihka·te· II "it is named, called so"
išinihka·so AI "he is named, called so"

išinihka·sowin n. in. "name"
iša· AI "he goes"
išpimink p. "up above"
iškote· n. in. "fire"
iškote·wa·po· n. (?) "whiskey"
iškwa· p. (and p. preverb) "after, finished"
ihi, ihiwi pron. in. "that"
ihkito AI "he says (so)"
ihkwe· n. an., stem /ihkwe·w-/ "woman"
ihkwe·-mako·t n. in., stem /ihkwe·-mako·tay-/ "woman's garment, skirt"
ihkwa n. an., stem /ihkw-/ "louse"
ini, iniwe·niwan pron. in. 3 P "those"
inikini AI "he is like this, a certain way"
inini n. an., stem /ininiw-/ "man, person, Indian"
inini·nss n. an. "little person"
inini·wa·hpine· n. (?) "Indian sickness, illness of supernatural origin"
ininohki· AI "he has a job"
ine·nti AI "he stays away (so long)"
inam- TA /otinama·n/ "he bites him"
into·taw- TA /e·nto·tawank/ "we (incl.) do something with him, to him," (Conjunct, with initial change)

-i·-

-i·pit- dep. n. an. /ni·pit/ "my tooth"
-i·ci- dep. p. prenoun "fellow." /ni·ci-inini/ "my fellow Indian"
i·n- TA /oti·na·n/ "he answers him"
-i·n- dependent stem of personal pronouns. /ni·n/ "I"
-i·ya·w- dep. n. in. /ni·ya·w/ "my body"

-e·-

e·-p. preverb "while" (precedes Conjunct verbs). Bloomfield analyses this as changed preverb /a-/.
e·ka· p. "without, while not" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
e·ka·win p. "don't" (precedes Imperative verbs).
e·škam p. "sometimes"
e·hta p. "only"
e·mihkwa·n n. an. "spoon"

-a-

api AI "he sits"
apo·p n. in., stem /apo·py-/ "broth"
apwi, apoy n. an., stem /apwy-/ "paddle"
atihk n. an., stem /atihkw-/ "caribou"
atihkame·k n. an., stem /atihkame·kw-/ "whitefish"

atihko-no·hkahikan n. in., "dried, powdered caribou meat"
atihko·nss n. an. "little caribou; young caribou"
ata·we· AI "he trades, sells"
ata·we·wi-kamik n. in., stem /ata·we·wi-kamikw-/ "store, trading post"
akint- TI /otakinta·n/ "he counts it"
akinte· II "it is counted; it costs"
akincika·te· II "it is counted, valued"
akinso AI "he is counted; he costs"
aka·mink p. "across, on the other shore"
ako·nitiso AI "he hangs himself"
asa·tiya·htik n. (?), stem /asa·tiya·htikw-/ "willow"
assin n. an., stem /assiny-/ "stone, rock"
assini·-ohpwa·kan n. an. "stone pipe"
assap n. an., stem /assapy-/ "fish net"
assapihke· AI "he makes a net"
assapihke·htamaw- TA /otassapihke·htama·wa·n/ "he makes a net for him"
assa·hwe· n. an. "yellow perch"
ašim- TA /otašima·n/ "he warns him"
ašiški n. in., stem /ašišky-/ "black mud"
ahpi· p. "when, whenever"
ahpi·hc p. "in relation to"
ahpa·hkison n. (?) "apron"
ahca·p n. (?), stem /ahca·py-/ "bow (weapon)"
ahki n. in., stem /ahky-/ "earth, moss, land"
ahkihk n. an., stem /ahkihkw-/ "kettle"
ahki·wi-masinahikan n. in. "map"
amw- TA /otamwa·n/ "he eats him"
ani- p. preverb "in the process of, getting"
aniššinini n. an., stem /aniššininiw-/ "person, Indian"
animošš n. an. "dog"
animoššikamik n. in., stem /animoššikamikw-/ "dog house"
animo·nss n. an. "little dog, puppy"
anoho AI "he chokes"
anohki· AI "he works"
anta-, antawi- p. preverb "intend to; start to; go and"
anta-pawa·mo AI "he seeks a vision"
antawi-ki·wa·škwe·ya·tisi AI "he is going crazy"
antoht- TI /otantohta·n/ "he listens for it, to it"
antohtaw- TA /otantohtawa·n/ "he listens to him, for him"
awiya pron. an. "somebody, anybody"
awiya·šši·šš n. an. "animal"
awa·šišš n. an. "child"
awa·šiššihka·n n. in. "doll"
aya· AI "there is (something an.)"

aya·- PsT /otaya·n/ "he has it"
aya·mihto·- PsT /otaya·mihto·n/ "he reads (it)"
aya·w- TA /otaya·wa·n/ "he has him"

-a·-

a·pacih- TA /ota·paciha·n/ "he uses him"
a·pacihto·- Pst /ota·pacihto·n/ "he uses it"
a·pacihcikan n. in. "tool"
a·pahkwa·ni·kin n. in., stem /a·pahkwa·ni·kinw-/ "roof"
a·pahkwa·ni·kinike· AI "he builds a roof"
a·cimo AI "he tells a story"
a·cimo·win n. in. "story, news"
a·kim n. an. "snowshoe"
a·kwaci·nk p. "outside, out of doors"
a·ši·wisi AI "he acts queerly"
a·ša p. "now, already, soon"
a·ha·, a·ha·wi pron. an. "that"
a·hkosi AI "he's sick"
a·hkosi·wi-maškihki n. in., stem /a·hkosi·wi-maškihky-/ "medicine"
a·hkosi·win n. in. "sickness"
a·hkwatin II "it is freezing"
a·mo· n. an. "bee"
a·n p. "how, what (interrogative)" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
a·n-ahpi· p. "when (interrogative)" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
a·nahkona· n. an. "bannock"
a·nahkona·hke AI "he makes bannock"
a·nti p. "where (interrogative)" (precedes Conjunct verbs; and nouns, meaning "Where is X?").
a·ntine·hke· p. "which way (interrogative)" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
a·ncikima·hka·niwan II "there is an election for chief"
a·ncikwanapin- TA /ota·ncikwanapina·n/ "he puts him in a container"
a·ncih- TA /ota·nciha·n/ "he puts him in a box; he elects him (referring to putting votes in a box)"
TI /ota·nciha·n/ "he puts it in a box"
a·nciha·kaniwi AI "he is elected"

-o-

otihkomi AI "he has lice"
otassapihke·šši·šš n. an. "spider"
ota·ncikima·hka·ni/ AI "he votes for a chief"
oci- p. preverb "along, with (?)"
oci-pi·to·- PsT /oto·ci-pi·to·n/ "he brings it with him"
ocica·hk, wacica·hk n. an., stem /ocica·hkw-, wacica·hkw-/ "whooping crane"
okima· n. an. "boss, H. B. C. manager"

okima·hka·n n. an. "(Indian) chief"
okima·wa·tisi AI "he is the boss, H. B. C. manager"
okini·ya·htik n. (?), stem /okini·ya·htikw-/ "rose bush"
oko, okowe·niwak pron. an. 3 P "these"
oših- TA /oto·šiha·n/ "he makes him"
ošihto·- PsT /oto·šihto·n/ "he makes it"
oški- p. prenoun "new"
oški-mahkisin n. in. "new moccasin, new shoe"
oškahkisin n. in. "new moccasin, new shoe"
oho, ohowi pron. in. "this"
ohpwa·kan n. an. "pipe"
ohpwa·kan-nasse·ma· n. an. "pipe tobacco"
ompisikan n. (?) "baking powder"
onikam, wanikam n. in., stem /onikamy-, wanikamy-/ "path, trail"
onihki-pi·ssimohka·n n. (?) "wrist watch"
one·ntama·so AI "he chooses (it)"
onaššiwe· AI "he holds a meeting"
onaššiwe·w-ihkwe· n. an. "woman councillor"
onaššiwe·w-inini n. an., stem /onaššiwe·w-ininiw-/ "councillor"
onaššiwa·niwan II "there is a meeting"
ona·ko p. "yesterday"
ono, onowe·niwan pron. in. 3 P "these"
onte· II "it boils"
ontami· AI "he's busy"
onci- p. preverb "relative to something mentioned" (?)
ons- TA /oto·nsa·n/ "he boils it, brings it to a boil"
onso AI "he boils"
onsw- TA /oto·nswa·n/ "he boils him, brings him to a boil"

-o·-

o·te·na· n. in. "town"
-o·ss- dep. n. an. /no·ss/ "my father"

-p-

pi- p. preverb "here, hither"
pipo·no·hke· AI "he makes it winter"
pikiw n. (?) "resin"
pikwaskisse· AI "he has insect bites"
pikwaskisse·na·niwan II "everybody has insect bites"
pikwahko·ššip n. an. "American goldeneye"
pišiw n. an. "lynx"
pihkoci·ssi n. an., stem /pihkoci·ssiw-/ "black fly"
pimite· n. in., stem /pimite·w-/ "fat, lard"
pimiššin AI "he lies down"

pimina·makan II "it flies"
pima·tisi AI "he lives; he is alive"
pimosse· AI "he walks"
pimpisowin n. in. "outboard motor"
pinima· p. "soon, in a few minutes; for the moment"
pi·to·- PsT /opi·to·n/ "he brings it"
pi·ssim n. (?), stem /pi·ssimw-/ "sun"
pi·ssimohka·n n. (?) "clock"
pi·ssimo·-masinahikan n. in. "calendar"
pi·ša· AI "he approaches; he comes here" (maybe /pi-iša·/)
pi·šša·kaniya·p n. in., stem /pi·šša·kaniya·py-/ "rope, string"
pi·mw- TA /opi·mwa·n/ "he shoots him"
pi·nah- TA /opi·naha·n/ "he encloses him in something"
pi·ntike· AI "he enters, comes inside"
pi·ntikamink p. "inside, indoors"
-pi·way- dep. n. in. /nimpi·way/ "my hair"
pe·pan n. in., stem /pe·panw-/ "paper"
pe·sihka· p. "slow, slowly"
pe·šik p., stem /pe·šikw-/ "one"
pe·šiko- p. prenoun "one" (forms compound nouns and particles)
pe·šiko-e·mihkwa·n p. "one spoonful"
pe·šikwan p. "same; the same as"
pe·šikwa· p. "once"
pe·šikwa·tašš p. "once; one time"
papa·hpišim- TA /opapa·hpišima·n/ "he jokes with him"
papa·mipahto AI "he runs about"
papa·mosse· AI "he walks about"
pakite·h- TI /opakite·ha·n/ "he hits it"
pahki·m- TA /opahki·ma·n/ "he (an insect) bites him"
pahki·ntwe· AI "he (an insect)bites"
pahkwe·šikan n. an. "flour"
pankissin II "it falls from a height"
pankiššin AI "he falls from a height"
panki· p. "a little"
pawa·mo AI "he dreams"
pawa·mowin n. in. "dream"
pa·kissi AI "he swells up"
pa·ka· II "it swells up"
pa·ssame· AI "he smokes and dries fish"
pa·škis- TI /opa·škisa·n/ "he shoots it"
pa·škisw- TA /opa·škiswa·n/ "he shoots him"
pa·hte· II "it is dry"
pa·nima· p. "sometime, later"
pa·n-ahkihk n. an., stem /pa·n-ahkihkw-/ "frying pan"
po·si AI "he embarks"

po·š n. an., stem /po·šy-/ "cat"
po·šiwi-to·he· AI "he plays marbles"
po·šiwi-to·ha·n n. in. "marble; cat's ball"

-t-

tipihki-pi·ssim n. (?), stem /tipihki-pi·ssimw-/ "moon"
tipihka· n. in. and II "night; it's night, it's dark"
tipe·ncike· AI "he leads"
tipahikan n. in. "hour"
tipahama·tina·niwan II "there is payment; everybody is paid"
tihima·n n. an. "playing card"
ti· n. in. "tea"
te·ssapi·win n. in. "seat, chair"
ta- p. preverb "future" (used with Independent verbs when the personal prefix is lacking).
(/ta-ki·-/ "will have X-ed"; /ta-wi·-/ "will want to X")
takosse· II "it comes"
takoššin AI "he comes (on foot)"
taši·hke· AI "he plays"
tahkon- TA /otahkona·n/ "he picks him up"
tahkwa·hkwan II "it is short"
tawikahikan n. in. "survey line"
tawahte· n. in. and II "week"
ta·ki·- p. preverb "unrealized action; would, would have"
-ta·ss- dep. n. an. /ninta·ss/ "my trousers"
-ta·niss dep. n. an. /ninta·niss/ "my daughter"
to·t- TI /oto·ta·n/ "he does it"
-to·te·m- dep. n. an. /ninto·te·m/ "my friend"
-to·n- dep. n. in. /ninto·n/ "my mouth"

-c-

ci- p. preverb "potential; can"
ci·ssw- TA /oci·sswa·n/ "he stings him"
ci·htah- TI /oci·htaha·n/ "he pricks it"
ci·htahw- TA /oci·htahwa·n/ "he pricks him, vaccinates him"
ci·htahwa·kaniwi AI "he is pricked, vaccinated"
ci·ma·n n. in. "canoe"

-k-

kipahiškotawa·n n. (?) "damper"
kita- p. preverb "expectation, necessity; is to, has to"
kikiškaw- TA /okikiškawa·n/ "he wears it (an.)"
kišite· II "it is hot (weather)"
kišiwa·ya· II "it is warm (weather)"
kiša·pihkis- TI /okiša·pihkisa·n/ "he heats it (stone or metal)"
kiša·kamite· II "it is hot (liquid)"

kišše·pa·ya· II "it is morning" (/ke·kišše·pa·ya·k/ Conjunct form, with reduplication and initial change?)
kihta·nsik n. an., stem /kihta·nsikw-/ "American merganser"
kihci- p. preverb and prenoun "big, greatly"
kihci-okima· n. an. "great chief"
kihci-kimiwan II "it is raining hard"
kihkinahwa·ma·kihkwe· n. an. "woman teacher"
kihke·nim- TA /okihke·nima·n/ "he knows him"
kihke·nt- TI /okihke·nta·n/ "he knows it"
kihke·ntama· AI "he knows (by supernatural means)"
kihke·ntama·wi-pawa·mo AI "he has a dream of supernatural significance"
kimiwan II "it's raining"
kinakisi AI "he has an itch"
kinakisina·niwan II "there is itching; everybody has itches"
kino·še· n. an. "fish"
kiya·pac p. "still, more"
ki·- p. preverb "past, completed"
ki·šisw- TA /oki·šiswa·n/ "he cooks him done"
ki·šihto·- PsT /oki·šihto·n/ "he finishes it"
ki·špin p. "if" (usually precedes Conjunct verbs).
ki·škisw- TA /oki·škiswa·n/ "he cuts him"
ki·n pron. "you (S)"
ki·nawint pron. "we (incl.)"
ki·nawe·nim- TA /oki·nawe·nima·n/ "he longs for him"
ki·nawa· pron. "you (P)"
ki·we· AI "he goes home"
ki·wa·škwe· AI "he is crazy"
ki·wa·škwe·ya·tisi AI "he is going crazy"
ki·yoke· AI "he pays a visit"
ke·- changed form of p. preverb /ka-/; /ke·-ki·/ changed form of /ka -ki·/
ke·tašš p. "then, at that time"
ke·ka·t p. "almost"
ke·ko·n pron. in. "something; anything"
ke·hte·yihi· AI "he's old"
ka- p. preverb "future" (used in Independent forms with prefixes and in Conjunct forms).
(/ka-ki·/ "will have X'ed; be able to")
kakwe·cim TA /okakwe·cima·n/ "he asks him a question"
kakwe·cima·kaniwi AI "he is asked a question"
kahkina p. and pron. "all"
kahki·yaw pron. "everybody"
kano·n- TA /okano·na·n/ "he calls (summons) him"
kawinkwašši AI "he is sleepy"
kawaci AI "he is cold"

kaye· p. "also, too"
ka· p. "relative: who, which" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
ka·- p. preverb, changed form of /ki·-/
ka·ki·we·- p. preverb "over and over"
ka·hka·šipinitiso AI (reflexive) "he scratches himself"
ka·nika p. "it's doubtful" (precedes Conjunct verbs).
ka·win p. "not, no" (precedes Independent and Imperative verbs).
kotak p. and pron. "other, another, the other"
-kosiss- dep. n. an. /ninkosiss/ "my son"
kwe·hkin- TI /okwe·hkina·n/ "he turns it around"
kwe·hkapi AI "he turns, while sitting"

-s-

-sit- dep. n. in. /nisit/ "my foot"
si·kiwe·pin- TI /osi·kiwe·pina·n/ "he throws it away"
sakime· n. an. "mosquito"
sakasswa· AI "he smokes"
sanakaškway n. an. "blood sucker"
sa·kahikan n. in. "lake"
sa·kahamo AI "he goes outside"
so·kihpwan II "it's snowing"

-š-

šikop n. an., stem /šikopy-/ "black spruce"
šikopito·- PsT /ošikopito·n/ "he crumbles it"
šikopin- TA /ošikopina·n/ "he crumbles him"
šikopi·ya·htik n. (?), stem /šikopi·ya·htikw-/ "black spruce tree"
ši·pa·hta·na·htik n. in., stem /ši·pa·hta·na·htikw-/ "pelt stretcher"
ši·šši·p n. an. "duck"
-ši·me·nš- dep. n. an. /niši·me·nš/ "my younger sibling"
še·ma·k p. "right away"
ša·ponikan n. in. "needle"
ša·pwa·hte· II "it glimmers"
ša·pwa·hte·ššihcike·na·niwan II "there is X-raying; everybody has an X-ray"
ša·kawa· II "it's narrow"
ša·šša·kawa·pikošš n. an. "chipmunk"
ša·nkwe·šši-waya·n n. in. "mink pelt"
ša·nkwe·ššiwi-ši·pa·hta·na·htik n. (?), stem /ša·nkwe·ššiwi-ši·pa·hta·* na·htikw-/ "mink pelt stretcher"
šo·niya·hka· II "money is plentiful; it's 'treaty time' "
-štikwa·n- dep. n. in. /ništikwa·n/ "my head"

-h-

-hka·t- dep. n. in. /nihka·t/ "my leg"

-m-

mite·(wi)win n. in. "shamanistic rite"
misko- p. prenoun "red"
misko-ci·ma·n n. in. "red canoe"
miskosi AI "he's red"
miskomin n. an, "raspberry"
miskwi· n. in. "blood"
miskwi·wan II "it is bloody"
missi n. in., stem /miss-/ "stick of firewood"
-missatay- dep. n. in. /nimissat/ "my intestine"
missa·pe· n. an. (stem?) "Giant (mythological being)"
mišši-pišiw n. an. "Great Lynx (mythological being)"
mišši·n p. "many"
mišši·niwak AI 3 P "they are many"
miššа· II "it's big"
mihtik n. an., stem /mihtikw-/ "tree"
    n. in. "stick"
mihtiko-e·mihkwa·n n. an. "wooden spoon"
mihkwam n. in., stem /mihkwamy-/ "ice"
minihkwe· AI (or PsT?) "he drinks (it)"
minihkwa·kan n. in. "cup"
mina·m- TA /omina·ma·n/ "he smells him"
mina·nt- TI /omina·nta·n/ "he smells it"
mino- p. preverb, prenoun "good, well'
mino-ma·kwan II "it smells good"
mintito, mincito AI "he is big, fat"
minsiwe· p. "all"
minsay n. an. "ling"
minwe·nt- TI /ominwe·nta·n/ "he likes it"
minwa·tam, ominwa·tam AI "he's happy"
minwa·ššin II "it's good"
mi·kiss n. an. "bead"
mi·kissi-mako·t n. in., stem /mi·kissi-mako·tay-/ "beaded jacket"
mi·kissako·t n. in., stem /mi·kissako·tay-/ "beaded jacket"
mi·ka·so AI "he fights"
mi·kwan, mi·nkwan n. an. "feather"
mi·n- TA /omi·na·n/ "he gives it to him"
mi·nišš n. in. "berry"
mi·na p. "again, and"
mi·nawa· "again, next time"
mi·we·, mi·ye· p. "all right; fine"
mi·ye·tako-minikohk p. "that will do; that's all"
me·me·piso AI "he swings"
me·me·pison n. in. "swing"
matwe·hikan n. in. "drum"

mace·nim- TA /omace·nima·n/ '"he dislikes him"
mako·t n. in., stem /mako·tay-/ "coat, garment"
masinahikan n. in. "book"
masinahikana·htik n. in., stem /masinahikana·htikw-/ "pencil"
masina·hkite· II "there is a picture"
maškihki n. in., stem /maškihky-/ "herb"
maški·k n. in., stem /maški·kw-, maški·kiw-/ "muskeg"
maškawa· II "it is strong"
mahkisin n. in. "moccasin; shoe"
mahkwa n. an., stem /mahkw-/ "bear"
manito· n. an. "spirit; power; God"
manito·hke· AI "he exercises supernatural power"
manico·ss n. an. "insect"
manico·ssiw-assap n. an., stem /manico·ssiw- assapy-/ "cocoon"
mawi AI "he weeps"
mawinso AI "he gathers berries"
ma·ca· AI "he goes off"
ma·kwancike· AI "he bites"
ma·ško·c p. "maybe, perhaps"
ma·ma· n. an. "mother (term of address)"
ma·ma·kon- TA /oma·ma·kona·n/ "he kneads it (an.)"
ma·nk n. an., stem /ma·nkw-/ "loon"
ma·wac p. "very; very much"
ma·ya·m p. "exactly; the same"
mocissak n. in., stem /mocissakay-/ "floor"
mo·ns n. an., stem /mo·nsw-/ "moose"
mo·nsi-no·hkahikan n. in. "dried, powdered moose meat"
mo·nšak p. "every time"

-n-

nipi n. in., stem /nipy-/ "water"
nipi·šš n. in. "dirty water"
nipi·wan II "it's wet"
nipe·win n. in. "bed"
nipah- TA /onipaha·n/ "he kills him"
nipa· AI "he sleeps"
nikamo AI "he sings"
nikamo·-inini n. an., stem /nikamo·-ininiw-/ "singer"
nikamohto·- PsT /onikamohto·n/ "he sings it"
niss- TA /onissa·n/ "he kills him"
nissin p. "three"
niška·tisi·hkantaw- TA /oniška·tisi·hkantawa·n/ "he's mad at him"
nihta·- p. preverb "habitually"
-nihk- dep. n. in. /ninihk/ "my arm"
nihkimin n. in. "bilberry"
nihka n. an., stem /nihk-/ "goose"

-nincy- dep. n. in. /nininc/ "my hand"
ninkis- TI /oninkisa·n/ "he melts it"
ni·pin n. in. and II "summer; it's summer"
ni·piša·hkwahikan n. an. "skewer with fish on it"
ni·stam p. "first"
ni·mi AI "he dances"
ni·mi·win n. in. "dance"
ni·n pron. "I"
ni·nawint pron. "we (excl.)"
ni·nšin p. "two"
ne·wank n. in., stem /ne·wankw-/ "sand"
-na (or /-na·/) p., question marker, compounded as final member
nakwa·kan, nankwa·kan n. in. "snare"
nasse·ma· n. an. "cigarette; tobacco"
nana·tawe·ncike· AI "he is hunting all around"
nantawe·ncike· AI "he hunts"
na·pe· n. an., stem /na·pe·w-/ "man"
na·pe·wi-mita·ss n. an. "trousers; a man's trousers"
na·sk- TI /ona·ska·n/ "he fetches it"
na·skaw- TA /ona·skawa·n/ "he fetches him"
na·ne·w n. in. "shore"
na·nta p. "or, possibly; some; 'would that' "
no·hkah- TI /ono·hkaha·n/ "he crumbles it to a powder"
no·hkahike· AI "he makes fish powder"
no·hkahikan n. in. "dried, powdered fish"
no·hkahw- TA /ono·hkahwa·n/ "he crumbles him to a powder"
no·nt- TI /ono·nta·n/ "he hears it, listens for it"
no·nte·- p. preverb "just"
no·ntaw- TA /ono·ntawa·n/ "he hears him, listens for him"
no·nkom p. "now"

-w-

wi·- p. preverb "desire, intention"
wi·pac p. "soon, early"
wi·ci·w- TA /owi·ci·wa·n/ "he accompanies him"
wi·kwe·mwat n. in. "birch bark box"
wi·kwa·ss n. (?) "birch"
wi·hke·ns n. an. "spruce cone"
wi·hkopito·- PsT /owi·hkopito·n/ "he ties it"
wi·n pron. "he, she, it (an.)"
wi·nawa· pron. 3 P an. "they"
wi·ntamaw- TA /owi·ntama·wa·n/ "he tells him something"
wi·ya·ss n. in. "meat"
we·ti p. "there; over there"
watap n. an., stem /watapy-/ "spruce root"
wacitamo· n. an. "squirrel"

wašakay n. in. "skin"
wahkwi n. in., stem /wahkwy-/ "cloud"
waniška· AI "he wakes and gets up"
wanake·hk n. in., stem /wanake·hkw-/ "bark"
waya·n n. in. "hide, skin"
wa·pi AI "he sees"
wa·pi- p. prenoun "white"
wa·pi-mahkwa n. an., stem /wa·pi-mahkw-/ "white bear"
wa·pi-ma·nk n. an., stem /wa·pi-ma·nkw-/ "white loon"
wa·pahkwa n. an., stem /wa·pahkw-/ "white bear"
wa·pam- TA /owa·pama·n/ "he sees him"
wa·pamitiwak AI 3 P "they see each other"
wa·pama·kaniwi AI "he is seen"
wa·pan n. in. and II "dawn; it's dawn"
wa·pant- TI /owa·panta·n/ "he sees it"
wa·panta·kaniwi II "it is seen"
wa·pancika·te· II "it is looked at"
wa·pank p. "tomorrow"; and Conjunct verb "when it is dawn"
wa·po·s n. an., stem /wa·po·sw-/ "rabbit"
wa·po·s-waya·n n. in. "rabbit skin"
wa·ka·hkwat n. in., stem /wa·ka·hkwatw-/ "axe"
wa·ka·hkwatwa·htik n. in., stem /wa·ka·hkwatwa·htikw-/ "axe handle"
wa·koma·kan n. an. "friend"
wa·ssa p. "far"
wa·hka·hike· AI "he builds a house"
wa·hka·hikan n. in. "house"
wa·hwa·, wa·hwa·wi pron. an. "this"
wa·w n. in. "egg"

LES ACADIENS DE LA RIVE NORD DU FLEUVE SAINT-LAURENT

par Carmen Roy

INTRODUCTION

Lorsqu'en 1957, nous avons franchi pour la première fois le fleuve Saint-Laurent pour accomplir le trajet de Sept-Îles à Forteau Bay, soit jusqu'au détroit de Belle-Île, nous avons pénétré vers l'inconnu. Les moyens de communication étaient difficiles (ils le sont encore), et l'enquête non moins difficile. On nous parlait, notamment dans la région de Blanc-Sablon, beaucoup plus de cette «terre de Caïn», malencontreusement découverte par Jacques Cartier, que du folklore de la région, dont nous allions tenter de démêler les influences et d'inventorier les ressources.

Il ne faudrait toutefois pas croire, par la nature de cette première tranche de notre rapport, que le folklore nous a fait faux bond. Bien au contraire. Seuls certains imprévus sont venus modifier le programme que nous nous étions tracé préalablement, tant au point de vue de l'enquête que de la nature de cette publication. S'imposait d'abord la nécessité d'extraire et de présenter l'essentiel d'un journal écrit sur les lieux entre les années 1857 et 1927 et découvert lors de notre premier voyage. De cette trouvaille ressortait, du même coup, la possibilité de prouver que la transformation du folklore acadien dans cette région n'était due à des influences ni récentes ni uniquement attribuables aux «gens du Québec».

C'est pourquoi il faudrait peut-être considérer cet article comme une introduction à l'étude folklorique que nous publierons ultérieurement et non comme un résultat d'enquêtes proprement dit; d'autant que notre exposé porte surtout sur le passé, notre but ayant été de décrire les conditions dans lesquelles s'est fixé le folklore de la région. Il n'entrait pas dans notre sujet d'exposer la situation actuelle, même si nous en possédons les données et les statistiques. A ce compte-là, il n'est que de se référer à ce qui a été écrit depuis deux ans sur l'économie de la Côte Nord. Le quotidien *la Presse*, de Montréal, s'est, pour sa part, fait le protagoniste de la cause en publiant quelques très sérieuses séries d'articles sur le sujet.

Ce journal, dont nous venons de mentionner l'importance[1], a été écrit par Placide Vigneau[2], né aux îles de la Madeleine en 1842, émigré à Havre-

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[1] S'ajoutent à ces sources d'information les archives que nous avons relevées à Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon pour les années s'étalant de 1849 à 1923; elles intéressent les paroisses comprises entre Natashquan et Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon. Notre copie constitue 600 pages dactylographiées.

[2] En 1907, il écrivait à ce sujet: *Voici de quelle manière l'idée m'est venue de tenir cette espèce de journal. Lorsque j'étais mousse à bord des goélettes, j'entendais très souvent les hommes discuter sur certains faits et certaines dates, des heures et des heures, et lorsque arrivait la fin de la discussion personne n'était plus avancé qu'au commencement. Alors en débarquant à la Pointe aux Esquimaux, je me suis dit: (quoique bien jeune et ignorant pourtant) dans 20, 30, 40 et 50 ans, il y aura bien des discussions au sujet des événements qui ont eu lieu aujourd'hui, donc le mieux serait de les écrire afin d'éviter toute discussion qui ne nous rendrait pas plus savants, et ma manie de griffonner aidant, je consultai les premiers arrivés sur les lieux et me mis immédiatement à l'œuvre et j'ai toujours continué depuis. Voilà.*

Saint-Pierre avec sa famille, en 1858. Ce descendant d'une grand-mère née aux îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon en 1787 et transplantée aux îles de la Madeleine en 1791 nous léguait non seulement ses précieuses observations concernant la Côte (comme il le dit au début de son journal), mais aussi le savoir de son fils, Hector, aujourd'hui octogénaire. Avec la collaboration de ce dernier, — que nous tenons à remercier ici, — nous avons pu rencontrer chez lui des informateurs de son âge avec qui nous avons procédé aux recoupements de la matière et complété ce que le journal ne pouvait apporter, particulièrement en fait d'enregistrements phonographiques.

Comme le lecteur pourra le constater, le sort du folklore chez les Acadiens de la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent ne s'est pas joué — comme on l'a cru — lors de l'expansion récente de Sept-Îles, puisque les pionniers de la région sont, chacun de leur côté, arrivés plus ou moins ensemble. Le folklore s'est donc développé dans des conditions telles que nous devons, pour le saisir, considérer, outre les diverses influences ethniques, le manque de communication, l'apathie (dans certaines paroisses) d'une population écrasée par une économie et une situation géographique paralysantes, et bien d'autres facteurs. Pour tout comprendre de ce folklore de nature très variée, il importe même, dans certains cas, de recourir aux mandements du temps[1].

Car si les interdictions imposées vers cette époque attestent une situation à corriger, elles révèlent la profondeur des traces laissées par ces corrections sur le folklore de la région.

Si nous avions, par exemple, présenté la gamme des «tours» ou farces propres au Jour des morts, celle des masques et travestis se rattachant au mardi gras et à la mi-carême, en notant le rythme de la régression ou de la ténacité des comportements, nous aurions pu commettre des erreurs regrettables. Éclairée par les mandements, nous en arrivons à des conclusions différentes, qui modifient ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler la courbe normale de l'évolution et de la transformation du progrès moderne. Qu'il nous suffise de lire un passage desdits mandements pour nous en convaincre:

> *Premièrement—Il y a un désordre qui règne depuis longtemps dans la préfecture et qui est cause de beaucoup de troubles et de péchés. C'est de jouer des tours, surtout la nuit, et le plus souvent pour satisfaire une rancune infâme, pour tirer vengeance ou pour éprouver la patience de meilleurs que soi. On va jusqu'à faire dommage en brisant des effets aux clôtures, en estropiant des animaux, dévastant les jardinages, dérangeant les embarcations, etc. Ces dommages sont rarement réparés. En outre, ils font douter et blâmer des personnes innocentes et sont la cause de péchés d'impatience et d'autres. Voulant mettre un terme à pareil désordre et, pour cela, usant des pouvoirs à nous accordés par Notre Saint-Père le pape Léon XIII, ayant invoqué les lumières de l'Esprit-Saint, nous décidons et ordonnons ce qui suit:*
>
> *Premièrement: A partir, pour chaque mission, du jour où ce mandement y sera publié et sans autre sentence de notre part, nous mettons hors des sacrements et de l'Église pour un an, excepté dans le danger de mort, ou hors des limites*

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[1] Les mandements et lettres pastorales que nous avons relevés à Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon datent de 1882 à 1895 et constituent 96 pages de texte dactylographié. Pas plus que les archives, nous ne pouvons — pour des raisons de discrétion — les publier intégralement.

de cette préfecture, quiconque jouera un tour consistant à déranger, briser, maltraiter ou enlever quelque objet, clôture, barrière, animal, voiture ou embarcation. Quiconque aussi aidera, approuvera ou encouragera tel tour, par parole, paiement, ou manière effective quelconque, les soustrayant, pendant cette année de punition, à la juridiction de tout confesseur dans les limites de cette préfecture.

Deuxièmement: Tout coupable qui, après avoir encouru cette punition, retombera dans une pareille faute, se trouvera ipso facto *et sans aucun autre avertissement ou sentence dans un cas réservé à nous et à notre vice-préfet.*

Troisièmement: Toute personne étant sous le coup des deux articles précédents doit être refusée comme parrain ou marraine. Nous défendons absolument de les accepter. De même si un de ces coupables meurt en cet état, sans faire aucune réparation, qu'il soit privé de la sépulture ecclésiastique, mais inhumé en terre sainte. Le temps écoulé, on suppléera les cérémonies et les bénédictions.

Quatrièmement: Si le coupable est un enfant n'ayant pas fait sa première communion, nous ordonnons à ses parents, sous peine de faute grave, du moment qu'ils en seront certains, à part la privation de confession pendant un an, sauf le péril de mort, de le priver d'assister à toute messe pendant deux mois.

Il y a un autre désordre qui existe en beaucoup d'endroits de cette préfecture, et auquel nous voulons mettre fin sans réplique ni retour. C'est la coutume qu'on a de se déguiser ou masquer de quelque manière que ce soit au mardi gras et à la mi-carême. De passer ainsi par les maisons effrayant les enfants et les personnes nerveuses, ce qui leur fait souvent un grand mal, durable quelquefois, même allant jusqu'à des pertes de vie et à des accidents causant la mort d'enfants avant le baptême. De telles folies sont contraires à l'esprit chrétien et nous voulons y mettre fin. C'est pourquoi nous ordonnons ce qui suit:

Premièrement: Sont défendus absolument tous déguisements, masques et courses par les chemins ou les maisons avec tels déguisements. Quiconque se déguise ainsi en aucun temps, quiconque approuvera, encouragera ces déguisements, les laissera faire dans sa maison ou ses autres bâtisses, ou par ses enfants ou serviteurs, sont, par les présentes et sans aucune autre sentence, soustraits à la juridiction de tout confesseur, dans les limites de cette préfecture, pour un an, à partir du jour de la faute, sauf le danger de mort. Et si, après avoir encouru cette punition, on retombe encore dans la même faute, le coupable se trouvera aussitôt dans un cas réservé à nous et à notre vice-préfet. Tant qu'un coupable reconnu sera sous le coup de cette punition, nous défendons de l'accepter pour parrain ou marraine et s'il meurt dans cet état, sans réparation, qu'il soit mis en terre sainte privément. Le temps de la punition écoulé, on suppléera les cérémonies et bénédictions. Si le coupable n'a pas fait sa première communion, nous ordonnons à ses parents, sous peine de faute grave, du moment qu'ils en seront certains, à part la privation de confession pendant un an, sauf le péril de mort, de le priver d'assister à toute messe pendant deux mois.

Il est certain que la disparition de certaines traditions dans cette région n'est pas uniquement attribuable à la masse et au travail de l'évolution. Nous venons de constater l'influence qu'ont pu avoir les mandements sur certaines coutumes à peu près disparues; et ce qui fut vrai pour les tours et les travestis se répéta en bien d'autres occasions. Le rôle des folkloristes n'est cependant pas de regretter la régression des traditions mais de la comprendre en étudiant le jeu des transformations dans la vie du peuple. Les hiatus rencontrés le long de la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent ne semblent pas avoir plus qu'ailleurs dans la province accentué l'inhibition qui se remarque chez les Canadiens.

Première partie

LES ORIGINES DE LA POPULATION

I—L'IMMIGRATION DES ÎLES DE LA MADELEINE

Les îles de la Madeleine forment un groupe d'îles situées entre le quarante-septième et le quarante-huitième degré de latitude septentrionale, et le soixante et unième et soixante-deuxième de longitude occidentale, méridien de Greenwich. C'est-à-dire que l'île Brion, la plus au nord, est située à environ quinze milles au sud de la ligne qui traverse le milieu du golfe Saint-Laurent. Ces îles furent découvertes par Jacques Cartier, lors de son premier voyage au Canada.

C'est en 1761 que quelques familles acadiennes, chassées de leur pays par les Anglais, s'établirent sur les îles de la Madeleine. Dans le journal qu'il écrivit à l'occasion de sa visite pastorale de 1811, Mgr Plessis rapporte que: *Les premiers colons des isles de la Magdeleine dont quelques-uns existent encore, furent excités à s'y établir par l'abondance des vaches marines*[1]*; tous les jours de l'été, elles sortaient de l'eau en grand nombre et se répandaient sur les dunes. Des chasseurs intelligents trouvaient moyen de les cerner, les conduisaient sur les terres dans l'intérieur de l'isle, d'où ne pouvant plus regagner l'eau, elles étaient tuées aisément avec des dagues et des bâtons. La quantité d'huile qu'on retirait payait avec usure cette chasse très facile à exécuter*[2].

D'autre part, quelques octogénaires de la Côte racontent qu'un Acadien du nom de Surette y aurait fait naufrage vers la fin de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle et aurait, à son retour sur la terre ferme, suggéré à ses compatriotes d'aller s'y établir.

Mais quelles que soient les raisons pour lesquelles les pionniers se fixèrent aux îles[3], leurs desseins n'en semblaient pas moins sérieux, puisque voici comment ceux de leurs descendants que nous avons rencontrés sur la rive nord du Saint-Laurent nous expliquent les raisons pour lesquelles leurs pères ont dû se transplanter ailleurs.

Au début de leur établissement aux îles de la Madeleine, les colons commerçaient avec une maison jerseyaise, la compagnie Janvrin. Mais en 1798[1], lorsque ces îles furent concédées à l'amiral Coffin par la couronne d'Angleterre, les messieurs Janvrin furent chassés de l'endroit. D'autre part, les habitants, qui avaient négligé de s'assurer la propriété de leurs terres, furent tenus de payer annuellement la rente que l'amiral jugeait à propos de leur imposer, et cela, sans l'espoir de devenir un jour propriétaires des terres qu'ils défrichaient.

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[1] L'arrière-grand-mère maternelle de notre meilleur informateur a raconté au père de ce dernier que la dernière «vache marine» a été tuée aux îles de la Madeleine par son père (Louis Terriau) en 1799. (La «vache marine» est le nom populaire que l'on donne au morse, mammifère familier des mers arctiques et atteignant une longueur de 20 à 25 pieds.)

Sur la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent, une seule «vache marine» a été capturée, à Harrington, en décembre 1907. «La première sur une période de cent ans», nous a-t-on dit, bien qu'il en ait été vu dans le golfe à intervalles réguliers; il reste que les vieux pêcheurs de la région affirment qu'elles avaient émigré vers la baie d'Ungava depuis 1800.

[2] Plessis, Mgr Joseph-Octave (8, p. 96-97).

[3] Aux îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, au temps de la Révolution, vers 1792, *lorsqu'on connut la mort du roi et les mesures prises en France contre le clergé, certaines personnes, redoutant l'avenir, préférèrent quitter le pays plutôt que d'être à la merci d'un mouvement populaire, et allèrent peupler les îles de la Madeleine, où elles formèrent le premier noyau de la population* (Martineau, Alfred, 6, p. 694).

Peu de temps après, l'amiral plaça un agent sur les lieux, son neveu, M. Colbeck, qui y demeura jusque vers 1830. Lui succédèrent Pierre Doucet, John Menzie et, vers 1852 ou 1853, John Fontana, un Italien.

Les terres n'étant pas arpentées, chacun choisissait l'endroit qui lui convenait, en évaluait les dimensions à la mesure de ses pas, et payait son «grinte»[2] à l'agent, qui lui remettait un bail. On dit qu'il y avait avantage pour le locataire à être dans les bonnes grâces de l'agent. A son arrivée, John Fontana fit imprimer de nouveaux baux renouvelables tous les dix ans, et dans lesquels il inséra une clause stipulant que, si le colon laissait écouler un an et un jour sans payer sa rente, il perdrait sa terre et le fruit de toutes les améliorations qu'il lui avait fait subir.

Ce fut à cette époque que l'idée d'émigrer commença à germer dans l'esprit des insulaires. D'autres facteurs favorisaient aussi leurs projets: la rareté du bois, l'augmentation de la population et l'état précaire des récoltes.

II—LES PREMIERS ÉTABLISSEMENTS ACADIENS DE LA RIVE NORD DU FLEUVE SAINT-LAURENT

Il faut estimer à environ cent vingt le nombre de familles qui émigrèrent des îles de la Madeleine à cette époque. Elles se sont réparties comme suit:

Kegashka: une dizaine;
Natashquan: de vingt à vingt-cinq;
Pointe-aux-Esquimaux[3]: environ soixante-dix;
Sept-Îles: cinq ou six;
Agwanus: cinq ou six.

On a aussi habité Washtawaka et Betchewun; mais le premier endroit le fut par des habitants de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, et le second, par ceux de Kegashka.

Avant cette époque, on ne rencontrait sur toute cette partie de la Côte, du cap Wittle jusqu'à Tadoussac (parcours de 420 milles), que les postes de la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson, dont les principaux étaient fixés à Port-Neuf, Bersimis, Godbout, Sept-Îles, Mingan, Natashquan et Mashwaroo, ainsi que des postes pour la chasse et pour la pêche au saumon.

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[1] D'après Faucher de Saint-Maurice (3, p. 166), les îles de la Madeleine furent cédées à sir Coffin le 24 août 1798.

Dans son *Journal de la Pointe-aux-Esquimaux*, Placide Vigneau écrivait: *Mr. J. M. Le moine, F.R.J.C. de Québec, cité par Mr. Killy Reynolds, de St-Jean N.-B. raconte ce qui suit au sujet des îles de la Madeleine: In 1719 we find the French King ceding this territory to Le Compte de St-Pierre at the instance of the Duchess of Orleans. Later on in 1757, four accadian families were located there: the Boudreault, Chiasson, Lapierre and Cormier, they had come from St Peter's Bay, in Prince Edward Island, and found employment under an enterprising Bostonian, a retired English officer of the name of Gridley, who had opened an establishment to tread in walrus and Seal oil.*

[2] «Grinte»: corruption du mot anglais *grant*.

[3] Pointe-aux-Esquimaux prit le nom de Havre-Saint-Pierre en 1924.

Durant les années 1853 et 1854, quelques maisons jerseyaises possédant des pêcheries sur les côtes de la Gaspésie fondèrent des établissements de pêche à Sheldrake, à Rivière-au-Tonnerre et aux environs.

Ce fut donc entre 1853 et 1865 que la partie comprise entre Kegashka et Sept-Îles fut colonisée. Après cette époque, les contingents, moins considérables, apparaissaient tous les cinq ou six ans, et cela, jusque vers 1890. De ce nombre, une dizaine de familles s'en retournèrent aux îles de la Madeleine, après avoir passé un certain temps sur la Côte.

1. Kegashka[1]

Kegashka fut le premier endroit de la Côte habité par les Acadiens. Son nom lui vient d'un mot montagnais qui signifie petit passage, passage étroit.

Il fut établi au printemps de 1854[2], par Jean Boudreau, surnommé *Petit Jean*, Narcisse Harvy, surnommé *Coco*, et Urbain Bourgeois, surnommé *Grand Urbain*. L'année suivante, en 1855, ils furent rejoints par Isidore Giasson, surnommé *Zidaria*, Patrick, son frère, Laurent et Boniface Bourgeois, Jude Poirier, Laurent Gallant, et une famille de Raps, surnommée *les Bertrand* (patronyme tiré du prénom de leur ancêtre Bertrand de Raps, émigré aux îles de la Madeleine dans le temps de la Révolution française).

Vers ce même temps, Lazare Petit-Pas, établi à l'Anse-au-Clerc, près de Blanc-Sablon, fut rejoint par Urbain Bourgeois, qui avait parcouru une partie de la Côte sans se fixer nulle part. Mais en 1860, ces deux familles s'établirent à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Laurent et Boniface Bourgeois quittèrent aussi Kegashka pour la Pointe, mais ce dernier y retourna peu de temps après.

Vers 1860, Simon Bourque, surnommé *Simon Madeleine*, se fixa à Kegashka, avec ses deux fils et leur famille, de même que Théobère Giasson, célibataire, né à Chéticamp. Au cours de cette période, quelques familles «canadiennes»[3], qui habitaient la Côte depuis quelque temps, se joignirent à eux, notamment les Guillemette.

On nous a raconté que ces gens n'eurent jamais d'école et ne se donnèrent même pas la peine de bâtir une cabane pour y loger les chiens du missionnaire. Seule la croix plantée au centre du cimetière révélait la présence de catholiques à cet endroit; aucun autre signe extérieur de culte n'y apparaissait. On dit de cette population qu'elle était pourtant chrétienne et semblait avoir à cœur d'accomplir ses devoirs religieux; mais l'érection d'une petite chapelle d'une vingtaine de pieds pour y réciter la prière en commun le dimanche (pratique qui s'est poursuivie jusqu'en mars 1860 à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux) lui semblait un travail inutile.

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[1] *Kegashka ou Kecaska (montagnais). Rivière sur la côte nord du Saint-Laurent, près de Natashquan, à 660 milles de Québec.* (Cf. Rouillard, Eugène, **11**, p. 44.)

[2] Toutes ces familles venaient de l'Étang-du-Nord, île du Cap-aux-Meules (îles de la Madeleine).

[3] Au Canada, les Acadiens désignent sous le nom de Canadiens tous les Canadiens français qui ne sont pas Acadiens.

En 1869 ou 1870 cependant, avec la permission de l'évêque, on se décida à démolir la magnifique petite chapelle d'Étamamiou (construite en 1854, mais désaffectée depuis) pour la reconstruire à Kegashka. On ne leva cependant que la charpente, car en 1871, ces gens décidèrent de quitter Kegashka pour s'établir à Betchewun. Ils vendirent leurs propriétés à des Irlandais venus de la côte sud de Terre-Neuve; mais ces derniers ne les remplacèrent pas longtemps et quittèrent l'endroit, qui était inhabité en 1890.

D'après le témoignage des premiers colons, trois causes les déterminèrent à quitter les lieux: *a*) l'éloignement du bois de chauffage et de construction, *b*) l'insuffisance du havre où les goélettes ne pouvaient tenir convenablement à l'automne, *c*) l'éloignement d'un prêtre qu'on pût rejoindre en cas de maladie.

Néanmoins, cette population — qui n'atteignit jamais vingt-cinq familles — vivait tout aussi bien qu'en n'importe quel autre endroit de la Côte.

2. Betchewun

Quelque temps après l'établissement de ces nouveau-venus à Betchewun, quelques familles des îles de la Madeleine, une famille de la Nouvelle-Écosse (les Keating) et quelques familles «canadiennes» de la Côte les rejoignirent. De sorte que, grâce aux mariages qui eurent lieu, la population s'élevait à une trentaine de familles en 1880.

Durant leur séjour à cet endroit, après bien des tâtonnements, ils édifièrent une maison d'école, qui leur servait de chapelle lorsque le missionnaire allait les visiter. Ils construisirent trois goélettes, et Théobère Giasson y ouvrit commerce. Mais en 1886-1887, la débandade recommença de nouveau; chacun prit son côté, de sorte qu'en 1890, Betchewun, comme Kegashka, était désert.

3. Natashquan[1]

Natashquan, deuxième endroit habité par les Acadiens, le fut en 1855, par Jean Vigneau, Victor Cormier, Rémi Cormier (son fils) et Pierre Lapierre, surnommé *Gros Pierre*. L'année suivante, Paul, Hilaire, Placide, Ignace et Charles Vigneau, Paul Landry, Louis Talbot, Prosper Bourgeois et Timothée (surnommé *Time*) Giasson les rejoignirent, suivis d'Isidore Landry, Vital et Auguste Chevary. Tous ces immigrés venaient de l'île Amherst (Havre-Aubert), îles de la Madeleine.

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[1] *Natashquan ou Nataskouan, comme on écrit partout aujourd'hui, et que l'on prononce Natashkouane, est un mot montagnais. Mgr Gay dit qu'il se traduit par «endroit où l'on voit l'ours nager», soit pour traverser la rivière, soit pour se transporter sur les îles. Le Père Lemoine traduit plutôt par: «là où l'on chasse l'ours».*

En langue crise, dit le Père Lacombe, Natascouan ou Nataskewan se traduit par «place où on va chercher de la mousse». (Roy, Pierre-Georges, 12, p. 285.)

A cette immigration, qui continua à un très faible rythme, s'ajoutèrent l'apport «canadien» et l'arrivée des Jerseyais. En 1857, une maison jerseyaise, dirigée par les messieurs de la Perrelle, y fonda un établissement de pêche qui constitua un grand avantage pour les nouveaux colons. D'ailleurs, dès leur arrivée, en 1855, nous disent les vieillards de la région, «ils eurent de la chance: un navire chargé de bois fit naufrage dans leurs parages et ils eurent tout de suite les matériaux nécessaires à la construction de leurs maisons». Moins de cinq ans plus tard, le *Moses Taylor* fit à son tour naufrage, laissant sur la Côte le bois requis à la construction de leur église (de 40 sur 28 pieds). La Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson, de son côté, possédait, à la rivière, un poste de traite de grande importance.

Aussi, les habitants de Natashquan vécurent-ils très largement jusque vers 1885, tirant surtout leur subsistance de la chasse au loup-marin[1], de la pêche à la morue et au hareng. Leur flotte se composait alors de sept goélettes jaugeant de 25 à 30 tonneaux. Et la population s'élevait à 70 ou 75 familles.

Mais, en 1886, les profits de la pêche ayant considérablement diminué, un malaise commença à se faire sentir. Aussi, sur le conseil de son missionnaire, M. Boutin, la moitié de la population émigra (à bord du *Napoléon III* équipé à cet effet par le gouvernement) vers la Beauce, sacrifiant à prix d'aubaine tout ce qu'elle ne pouvait apporter: maison, bateaux de pêche, filets, animaux, etc. A la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, on ne comptait plus que quarante familles à Natashquan[2].

4. Pointe-aux-Esquimaux[3]

On nous a raconté que Pointe-aux-Esquimaux devait son nom au dernier combat que les Montagnais livrèrent aux Esquimaux à cet endroit, après avoir guerroyé tout le long de la Côte, de Bersimis en descendant. D'autres soutiennent que là eut lieu le premier combat entre ces deux tribus et que les Esquimaux y furent battus et chassés jusqu'en dehors du détroit de Belle-Île.

Le 27 ou le 28 mai 1857, Firmin Boudreau, propriétaire de la chaloupe[4] *Mariner*, partit de Havre-aux-Maisons, transportant à son bord les cinq familles acadiennes suivantes: Nathaël Boudreau (son fils), Benjamin Landry (son gendre), François Petit-Pas (surnommé *Caniche*), Louis Cormier (son beau-frère), Joseph Boudreau (surnommé *Madoice*).

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[1] Nom populaire du phoque.

[2] En 1957, la population s'élevait à 557 âmes. Si nous ajoutons 43 familles indiennes (229 Montagnais) au village indien de Natashquan, 63 familles à Aguanish, 25 à l'île à Michon et 36 à Baie Johanne Beetz, la mission comptait 1,200 âmes.

[3] *St-Pierre de la Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Le mot Esquimau est d'origine algonquine. Il est formé de «ashki», cru, et de «mow», manger. Ashkimow, il mange cru. Ce qui veut dire que les Esquimaux étaient des mangeurs de viande crue. La tradition veut qu'autrefois, il y ait eu, à la Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, une tribu d'Esquimaux laquelle, après un sanglant combat, en fut chassée par les Montagnais. Leur nom cependant resta à l'endroit.*

La Pointe-aux-Esquimaux a été mise sous la protection de saint Pierre parce que tous ses habitants étaient des pêcheurs. (Roy, Pierre-Georges, 12, p. 315.)

[4] On appelait «chaloupe» un vaisseau dont l'arrière se terminait en «cul-de-poule».

La chaloupe erra quelques jours sur la Côte avant de débarquer définitivement ses passagers. Après avoir exploré Sheldrake[1], ils décidèrent de revenir à Mingan pour s'y établir. Mais là, — même après avoir débarqué leurs bestiaux et effets personnels, — les représentations redoutables que leur fit l'agent de la Baie-d'Hudson[2] sur les difficultés que présentait cet endroit les plongèrent dans le plus profond découragement. Aussi songeaient-ils à s'en retourner aux îles de la Madeleine quand ils firent la rencontre du R. P. Charles Arnaud, O.M.I.[3], missionnaire des Montagnais, qui, de concert avec le capitaine P. Le Marquand qui se trouvait là à cette époque, les encouragea à donner suite à leurs projets.

Remplis d'une nouvelle ardeur, ils reprirent bestiaux et effets à leur bord et filèrent vers l'est jusqu'à Betchewun, où ils jetèrent l'ancre. Le havre était bon, mais le sol pierreux, et les sources d'eau douce, très rares; ils n'en trouvèrent qu'une seule. C'est alors que les femmes intervinrent, en faisant observer aux hommes qu'elles avaient remarqué un endroit — à mi-chemin entre Mingan et Betchewun — où s'étalait une belle dune de sable sur une distance de plusieurs milles. Leurs conseils furent pris en considération, et le *Mariner* se dirigea à nouveau vers l'ouest. Le 10 juin (1857), on se fixait définitivement à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Ce premier contingent fut suivi d'un autre, vers la fin d'octobre de la même année.

Un siècle plus tard, la population comptait 475 familles, soit 2,100 habitants.

5. Washtawaka[4]

Washtawaka est un mot de langue montagnaise qui signifie «écore de sable». Les premiers habitants de la Côte ont d'abord appelé cet endroit «Pointe-à-la-Croix», parce que, nous racontent les anciens, «ce fut dans ce havre — qu'il nomma Saint-Nicolas — que Jacques Cartier planta une croix, après avoir doublé le cap Tiennot».

C'est en 1874 que huit familles acadiennes[5] venues de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux s'établirent à cet endroit; elles le quittèrent en 1886 pour gagner la Beauce. En 1888, il ne s'y trouvait plus personne.

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[1] *Sheldrake. C'est la rivière Sheldrake qui a donné son nom à la localité qu'elle traverse. La rivière elle-même a été ainsi nommée à cause d'un grand nombre d'oiseaux appelés Bec-Scie, en anglais «sheldrake», qui s'y trouvent.* (Roy, Pierre-Georges, 12, p. 446.)

[2] Toute cette partie ouest de la Côte n'était pas habitée avant 1850; il ne s'y trouvait que les trois postes de traite de la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson, fixés à Sept-Îles, à Mingan et à Natashquan. A Mingan, travaillaient sept ou huit blancs, outre un commis, un forgeron, un tonnelier et un charpentier. On y comptait environ cent trente familles d'Indiens.

Ce ne fut que vers 1853 que quelques maisons jerseyaises et quelques familles de la Gaspésie établirent des postes de pêche à Sheldrake, Rivière-au-Tonnerre, Magpie, Rivière-Saint-Jean et Longue-Pointe. Les Rochette et Tanguay, venant des environs de Wapitagun et de la Romaine, s'établirent à Agwanus, à Nabesipi et à Watsheeshoo, en 1854 ou 1855. En somme, on peut dire que toute cette partie de la Côte a été établie en quatre ou cinq ans.

[3] Le Père Arnaud, né à Avignon, en France, avait alors environ vingt-huit ans.

[4] *Washtawaka. Du montagnais «washitaukau», baie de sable, baie sablonneuse.* (Roy, Pierre-Georges, 12, p. 486.)

Awashtawaka (*montagnais*). *Baie de la côte nord du Saint-Laurent, à cinq milles au nord-ouest de la Petite Natashquan. «Endroit d'où l'on aperçoit de l'autre côté de la baie comme le mirage du sable.»* (*R. P. Arnaud*) (Rouillard,, Eugène, 11, p. 100).

[5] Jos. Boudreau (âgé de quatre-vingt-sept ans) et ses trois fils, Xavier, Édouard et Isidore, Vilbon et Vital Petit-Pas, Léon Vallée, ainsi que Benjamin et Baptiste Petit-Pas. Ces derniers n'y demeurèrent que de 1876 à 1879.

6. Sept-Îles

Sous le nom de Sept Îles, était compris, du temps des Français, une partie de la côte nord du Saint-Laurent, où de fait, l'on voit sept îles qui ne sont composées que de rochers fort stériles ou couverts seulement de méchants arbrisseaux. La plus grande n'a pas deux lieues de tour et la plus rapprochée de la côte n'en est pas éloignée d'une lieue. Il y a deux siècles, les Sauvages, après avoir chassé dans les forêts, se rendaient à une rivière assez voisine pour y trafiquer avec les Français. On les appelait alors «Oumamiois»; leur langue se rapprochait de celle des Sauvages de Tadoussac, quoiqu'elle eût beaucoup de mots et d'idiomes différents[1].

La ville de Sept-Îles fut habitée par les Acadiens vers l'année 1875 ou 1876; en 1879, s'y groupaient cinq ou six familles. Mais l'élément acadien resta toujours en minorité. Avec le développement des mines de cette région, la ville a connu récemment un essor qui lui amena 180 nouvelles familles d'origine acadienne et porta sa population à 23,000 habitants.

7. Agwanus[2]

Agwanus est une corruption du mot montagnais *A-ku-an-nis,* qui signifie: castor qui prend une gueulée de terre ou de vase au fond de l'eau et va la déposer sur sa cabane. Avant 1885, cet endroit — qu'on nomme encore «Gouanis» sur la Côte — n'était habité que par la famille de Xavier Rochette, établie là vers 1854 ou 1855.

Entre les années 1885 et 1890, quelques familles arrivées des îles de la Madeleine vinrent s'y fixer, ainsi que la famille de Laurent Gallant, ancien habitant de Kegashka, parti de Betchewun. Plus tard, les enfants d'Olivier Rochette, de Nabesipi, ainsi que quelques familles «canadiennes» de la Côte, rejoignirent les premiers. Vers 1900, on y trouvait une quinzaine de familles, une école, une chapelle et un bureau de télégraphe. En 1962, on y compte 63 familles.

8. Autres endroits de la Côte habités par les Acadiens

D'autres familles, originaires des îles de la Madeleine, mais établies, à leur arrivée, ici et là sur la Côte (surtout à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux), essaimèrent à d'autres endroits. Parlons d'abord de Piashte Bay[1], où se fixèrent les familles Desjardins et L'Oiseau, parmi lesquelles deux des fils s'allièrent à la famille de M. Tanguay établie là entre 1850 et 1855.

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[1] Roy, Pierre-Georges (12, p. 443).

[2] *Agwanus, rivière (Labrador). Du Montagnais «eikuanenanuts», endroit pauvre, où il y a peu de choses.* (Roy, Pierre-Georges, 12, p. 22.)

Agwanus (montagnais). Rivière de la Côte Nord du Saint-Laurent, à l'est des îles Mingan.

Eikuanenanuts, «lieu de déchargement». (R. P. Lemoine, dictionnaire français-montagnais.)

On donne aussi à cette rivière le nom de «Goynish». (Rouillard, Eugène, 11, p. 18.)

Goynish (montagnais). Rivière sur la Côte nord du Saint-Laurent, près de Natashquan. Cette rivière porte aussi le nom de Agwanus, et devrait garder ce dernier nom. Goynish n'est au fond qu'une forme anglaise du mot Agwanus. (Rouillard, Eugène, 11, p. 36.)

D'autres, venues de la baie des Anglais (Anticosti) de 1880 à 1885, se dirigèrent à Rivière-au-Tonnerre; d'autres, à Sheldrake, Moisie, Rivière-Sainte-Marguerite, Les Jambons, à la rivière Pentecôte. La plupart d'entre elles émigrèrent, plus tard, vers différentes parties de la province.

III—LE BRASSAGE DE LA POPULATION ET LES INFLUENCES ÉTRANGÈRES[2]

Comme sont sensiblement les mêmes les influences subies par la population des différents établissements acadiens de la Côte Nord, nous ne parlerons que de celles qui ont été propres à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Et nous nous bornerons à présenter les faits; les influences elles-mêmes ne seront analysées que dans nos prochaines études, avec la publication de toute notre matière folklorique recueillie sur la Côte Nord. Nous comptons beaucoup sur la littérature orale pour éclairer nos lecteurs à ce sujet. On pourra cependant déjà prévoir, par les renseignements suivants, comment et pourquoi les traditions acadiennes auront été influencées dès la fin du XIXe siècle.

1. Mariages entre Acadiens et gens des différents endroits de la Côte

Vers la fin de juin 1859, Jean Vigneau, de Natashquan[3], épousait Olive Boudreau (fille de Firmin). Elle était d'un âge assez avancé, et lui, veuf. En 1866, Édouard (surnommé *Eusaric*) Doyle contractait mariage avec Élisabeth (surnommé *Betsy*) Girard, de Magpie[4]. En 1868 ou 1869, Édouard Boudreau (veuf) épousait Célestine Cormier, de Natashquan, veuve de Vibon Vigneau. Ce furent les seuls mariages contractés, de 1857 à 1880, entre gens de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux et ceux des paroisses avoisinantes, si l'on excepte ceux de Charles Landry, marié, en 1870, à Célina

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[1] *Piashte Bay ou Piashti (montagnais). Baie ou rivière du comté de Saguenay, dans la province de Québec.*

Quelques cartographes ont fait erreur en imprimant Piastre Bay ou encore Plaster Bay. La véritable orthographe de ce mot est celle que nous donnons en tête de cet article. Ce mot veut dire: «baie sèche». Il est composé, dit le R. P. Babel, d'un mot sauvage «piashte» qui signifie «est sèche», et du mot anglais «bay». Le bureau géographique canadien a fait de ce mot: Piasthie. (Rouillard, Eugène, 11, p. 83.)

Si les gens de la Côte ont écrit Piestebai, Piastre Bay, etc., des écrivains ont souvent commis la même erreur en écrivant «Piastre Baie» (Rochette, Edgar, 10, p. 59), «Peashte-Bay» (Daviault, Pierre, 2).

Quant à l'étymologie populaire, voici une version que nous avons recueillie quelques fois sur la Côte:

Faisant dériver le nom «Piesthe Bay» des mots «pièce tombée», — que l'on prononce «pièche to'bée», — on explique que jadis les membres de l'équipage d'une goélette passant devant cette baie *avaient planté une pièce de bois équarri, une béconne (ang. beacon) sur la pointe, pour reconnaître l'endroit lorsqu'ils reviendraient. L'année suivante, la goélette est revenue et la pièce était tombée.* De là l'explication populaire du mot.

Cet endroit, aujourd'hui nommé Baie Johanne Beetz, compte (en 1962) 40 familles, soit 224 âmes.

[2] Nous employons ici le mot «étrangères» pour rester dans l'esprit de nos informateurs acadiens pour qui est «étranger» (du point de vue ethnique) tout élément non acadien. C'est donc dire que, pour eux, les influences «canadiennes» sont aussi étrangères que celles de Jersey ou d'Angleterre.

[3] Quatre-vingt-trois milles séparent Pointe-aux-Esquimaux de Natashquan. Il n'y eut jamais d'autres moyens de communication au XIXe siècle que la voie maritime. Aujourd'hui, s'ajoute le service aérien.

[4] On compte 46 milles de Magpie à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

Bilodeau, de Berthier, et d'Hippolyte Bourgeois, marié, en 1867, à Catherine Young, de Port-au-Choix (T.-N.).

Mais plus que ces statistiques encore sont remplies d'intérêt les remarques suivantes de l'un de nos informateurs: *A part ces quelques mariages, il n'était pas plus question pour un garçon et une fille de la Pointe de prendre une femme ou un mari d'un autre endroit que si les uns eussent été des Français et les autres des Chinois; ils avaient pourtant les mêmes avantages et facilités qu'aujourd'hui.*

Vers 1880, les comportements se modifièrent considérablement: un grand nombre d'alliances furent contractées avec les gens de Natashquan, d'Agwanus, de Piashte Bay et des différentes paroisses situées à l'ouest de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Aussi, dès le début du XX^e siècle, comptait-on de nombreux mariages contractés à Longue-Pointe, Rivière-Saint-Jean (un seul à cet endroit), Magpie, Rivière-au-Tonnerre, Sheldrake, Moisie et Sept-Îles. Il n'est mentionné qu'un seul mariage contracté en bas de Natashquan, si l'on excepte ceux des opérateurs télégraphistes Vigneau, de Sept-Îles, et Maloney, de Mingan, qui ont pris femme à Bonne-Espérance.

2. Mariages entre Acadiens et étrangers fixés à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux

Comme nous pouvons le constater, la crainte qu'ont d'abord éprouvée ces Acadiens de s'allier à des familles de l'extérieur n'a pas semblé de longue durée. Cette rapide émancipation pourrait peut-être s'expliquer en partie par la présence dans leur milieu des missionnaires et curés, des instituteurs et institutrices qui (jusqu'en 1888) venaient de l'étranger. Quoi qu'il en soit, dès la fin du XIX^e siècle, des familles de l'extérieur (mais résidant sur les lieux) s'alliaient à celles de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. En voici la liste:

ALLARD, Théophile, des environs de Baie-Saint-Paul,	arrivé en 1860
BARRIAU, Lin, de la baie des Chaleurs,	arrivé en 1865
BLAIS, André, de Berthier,	arrivé en 1860
BOURQUE, André, de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard,	arrivé en 1877
BRIAND, William, de la Malbaie, Gaspésie,	arrivé en 1861
COLLARD, Placide, habitait la Côte depuis longtemps,	arrivé en 1859
COSTIN, Hubert, de Saint-Charles (Bellechasse),	arrivé en 1863
DUPUIS, François, de la Gaspésie,	arrivé en 1876
DUPUIS, Philippe, de la Gaspésie,	arrivé en 1876
FLOWER, Philippe[1], de la Gaspésie,	arrivé en 1874
FOURNIER, Alphonse, adopté à l'orphelinat par P. Landry,	arrivé en 1880
GOULETTE, Ambroise, de cap Wittle (Wapitagun),	arrivé en 1861
HAWKINS, Alexandre, des environs de Saint-Augustin,	arrivé en 1862
HOULD, Achille (arpenteur),	arrivé en 1897
LACHANCE, Napoléon, de Saint-Vallier (Bellechasse),	arrivé en 1862
LEBLANC, Eusèbe, de Chéticamp, Cap-Breton,	arrivé en 1861
LEBRUN, Charles (Jerseyais)[2],	arrivé en 1858

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[1] Abjura le protestantisme, avec sa famille, vers 1875. Ceux de sa famille qui restèrent en Gaspésie (à New Carlisle) conservèrent leur religion. Nous connaissons leurs descendants.

[2] Charles Lebrun abjura le protestantisme en 1860 (lors de son mariage), et son frère, William, suivit son exemple.

LEBRUN, William (son frère),	arrivé plus tard
PICARD, Georges, de Saint-Thomas de Montmagny,	arrivé en 1875
PRÉVEREAU, Pierre, du Petit-Mécatina,	arrivé en 1861
ROBERGE, Mathias, de l'île d'Orléans,	arrivé en 1860
SCHERER, Alexis, de Saint-Joseph de Lévis,	arrivé en 1865

3. Professions et corps de métiers

Outre les influences qui ont pénétré dans les familles acadiennes par la voie du mariage, mentionnons celles qui se sont aussi infiltrées par les contacts avec les «professionnels» et artisans venus s'établir à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux[1]. Quelques-uns d'entre eux (la minorité) étaient acadiens, mais nous fournirons leur nom quand même, tout comme ceux déjà mentionnés au chapitre précédent, afin de garder complète notre liste des artisans du temps.

PROFESSIONS LIBÉRALES

De Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, M. Martin arrive en 1869: il tient commerce durant un an et s'en retourne. On dit qu'il était médecin et possédait quantité d'instruments et de drogues.

De Baie-Saint-Paul, maître Charles Gagnon arrive en 1873: il habite l'endroit jusqu'en 1876, à titre de magistrat de district.

De Memramcook, Israël Mercure arrive (par les îles de la Madeleine) en 1881: il pratique la médecine en «soignant au moyen d'herbages». Le «Docteur Mercure», comme on l'appelait, semble avoir laissé de bons souvenirs comme guérisseur. C'était un charlatan ne sachant ni lire ni écrire. Il quitte les lieux en 1884.

De Laprairie (près de Montréal), le docteur J.-E. Tremblay[2] arrive en 1891: il pratique la médecine à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

CORPS DE MÉTIERS

Charpentiers et menuisiers

De Saint-Thomas de Montmagny, Alfred Vallée arrive en 1860: il était accompagné de son oncle, le capitaine Hamond (né à Saint-Malo). C'est lui qui termine la sacristie, lambrisse la nef, construit les fonts baptismaux. Il meurt en 1883, à l'âge de quarante-cinq ans.

De Saint-Vallier (Bellechasse), Xavier Roy arrive en 1861: il exerce son métier jusqu'en 1865 et s'en retourne.

De Lévis, Alexis Scherer arrive en 1866: il avait quitté Nabesipi pour s'établir à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Très bon ouvrier, homme de tous les métiers, il s'adonne surtout à l'architecture navale.

De la Gaspésie, Lin Barriau arrive en 1866: il accompagnait alors le capitaine Le Gros. On dit qu'il n'était pas un très habile ouvrier, mais qu'il se perfectionna avec M. Vallée.

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[1] Consulter aussi à cet effet (sous la rubrique *Commerce*) nos chapitres intitulés: «Marchands et traiteurs». «Traiteurs en goélettes».

[2] Premier médecin diplômé ayant pratiqué sur la Côte.

Pierre Demasson, Français, arrive en 1871: il était, tout comme M. Scherer, de tous les métiers, mais spécialiste de l'architecture navale. Il quitte Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1886 pour aller s'établir à Wapaka (Manitoba), où il devint, dit-on, un riche fermier.

De la Gaspésie (baie des Chaleurs), Philippe Flower arrive en 1874: on l'a comparé, comme ouvrier, à Lin Barriau. Il meurt en décembre 1889.

Forgerons

Des îles de la Madeleine, Élie Arseneau arrive en 1861: il s'en retourne aux îles en 1864.

De Sheldrake, Francis Gallienne, Jerseyais, arrive en 1869: il s'y marie la même année. Il exerce son métier durant l'hiver et navigue en été. Il quitte l'endroit en 1879 pour aller résider à Sept-Îles.

De Baie-Saint-Paul, Cléaphe Allard arrive en 1867: il partait de Natashquan, où il retourna en 1873, puis émigra à Saint-Théophile de Beauce en 1886.

De Saint-Thomas de Montmagny, Napoléon Picard arrive en 1875: il s'est marié trois fois à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

De Betchewun, Jean Chrysostome de la Ruelle, Français, arrive en 1865: il avait quitté la Picardie pour le Canada en 1845. De 1858 à 1864, il habite Betchewun, seul avec son épouse. Il était aussi bon armurier. Il meurt à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1867.

Cordonniers

De Lévis, Laurent Rousseau arrive en 1860: descendu avec Vital Vigneau, il exerce son métier jusqu'en 1885.

De Québec, Hubert Costin arrive en 1863: il était né à Saint-Charles de Bellechasse. Il exerce son métier durant cinq ou six ans, l'abandonne et le reprend en 1885.

De Berthier, Édouard Bilodeau arrive en 1870: il fait descendre sa famille en 1872 et meurt en 1887.

Tonneliers

De Chéticamp, Cap-Breton, Eusèbe Leblanc arrive en 1861: il n'a pas exercé son métier régulièrement.

De Québec, Pierre Prévereau arrive en 1861: il avait d'abord vécu durant plusieurs années au Petit-Mécatina. Comme Eusèbe Leblanc, il n'a guère travaillé de son métier. Il était charpentier et aimait construire les canots. Il meurt en 1894.

4. Les Indiens

Pas plus sur la rive nord que sur la rive sud du Saint-Laurent, en Gaspésie, l'influence indienne n'a semblé considérable. Il ne nous sera cependant possible de nous prononcer à ce sujet qu'après l'étude de notre matière folklorique recueillie dans cette région. Pour le moment, voici ce que les octogénaires de Havre-Saint-Pierre nous ont raconté au sujet des Montagnais de Mingan. Déjà, nous pourrons établir la fréquence de leurs contacts avec les blancs et nous préparer à comprendre quelles ont été les influences subies par les uns ou par les autres.

A l'époque de l'établissement de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, en 1857, les Indiens vivaient, à peu de chose près, de la même façon que cent ans et plus auparavant. Tout leur commerce s'opérait avec la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson, car très peu de traiteurs circulaient alors sur la Côte, et ces derniers, pour des raisons que nous ignorons, négociaient peu avec les Indiens.

A cette époque, toutes les cabanes des Indiens étaient faites d'écorce de bouleau (ainsi que leurs canots). De forme cylindrique, elles ne contenaient, naturellement, pas de «poêle»[1]. On y entretenait tout simplement, au centre, un feu dont la fumée s'échappait par une ouverture pratiquée dans le toit. Et l'on se couchait toujours les pieds en direction du feu. Vers 1877, les cabanes d'écorce avaient disparu; tous les Indiens logeaient sous des tentes de coton apparues en 1868. En 1890, quelques-uns commencèrent à se faire construire de petites maisons (15 sur 18 et 16 sur 20 pieds). Au début du XX^e^ siècle, on en comptait environ huit. Leur ameublement comprenait un «poêle à deux ponts», une table, des couchettes achetées à Québec, des chaises, des rideaux et, très souvent, une machine à coudre. Dès 1897, plusieurs d'entre eux faisaient descendre de Québec des épitaphes en marbre pour leurs morts; en 1900, une douzaine de ces épitaphes s'alignaient dans leur cimetière.

Lorsque les Acadiens débarquèrent à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, en 1857, les Indiens avaient, outre leurs canots d'écorce (ils ne les fabriquèrent en toile que vers 1894), des embarcations plus grandes, appelées «barges», dans lesquelles pouvaient tenir deux familles. Elles leur étaient vendues par des habitants du bas de la Côte, qui les achetaient des goélettes américaines (et non des Néo-Écossais, comme plusieurs ont été portés à le croire). Elles étaient cédées, à la fin des voyages de pêche des Américains, à raison de $40 à $50. Elles se différenciaient des «barges» acadiennes en ce qu'elles étaient plus petites et n'avaient pas de «cuddy» (cabine) à l'avant.

En 1865, le nombre de ces barges s'élevait à environ soixante-dix. On en voyait parfois une trentaine mouillées ensemble devant Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. En 1900, on n'en comptait plus qu'une dizaine. Une famille, celle de Philippe, possédait même une goélette de 15 à 20 tonneaux; y logeaient quatre ou cinq familles. (On raconte que Philippe fit quelques voyages à Québec avec son bateau.) Dans ses «Récits du Labrador», au chapitre consacré aux Montagnais (9, p. 111), Henry de Puyjalon note que, parmi ces Indiens, quelques-uns *...se sont adonnés à la pêche de la morue avec succès et l'excellent M. Tonzel, de la rivière Sheldrake, m'a affirmé ne pas avoir de meilleurs pêcheurs que les Montagnais, mais ils sont rares...*[2]

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[1] Canadianisme pour désigner un fourneau ou une cuisinière.

[2] Ces déclarations ne manquent pas d'intérêt, puisque, à l'appui de certains autres auteurs, nous avons déjà déclaré n'avoir jamais trouvé, parmi les Indiens de la Gaspésie, la trace d'un pêcheur de morue chez les Micmacs.

Il reste qu'à l'instar des autres Indiens, les Montagnais étaient essentiellement chasseurs. Ils ont transmis leurs techniques de trappeurs aux blancs, sans pour cela refuser de s'adapter au progrès. Après 1865, personne d'entre eux n'utilisait le fusil à pierre, et, avant la fin du XIX^e siècle, la plupart possédaient des fusils se chargeant par la culasse.

Leur commerce a connu de beaux jours, même si ce n'est que vers 1865 qu'ils commencèrent à négocier, sur une grande échelle, avec les différents traiteurs et marchands de la Côte. Cependant, en 1867, ils vendaient encore des pelleteries à la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson pour une valeur de $36,000.

L'acculturation de ces Indiens s'est aussi manifestée dans le domaine religieux. *Ils sont catholiques comme nous, plus honnêtes que nous, et beaucoup plus instruits. Il est rare de rencontrer un sauvage ne sachant ni lire ni écrire. Ils correspondent entre eux au milieu des bois. Leurs boîtes aux lettres sont les troncs d'arbres désignés et leur papier du fragment d'écorce de bouleau...* (**9**, p. 111.)

Dans leur réserve, desservie par les Oblats depuis 1845, se dressait un petit oratoire d'une vingtaine de pieds carrés. C'est en 1857 que fut construite leur chapelle, là où tous s'asseyaient à plat sur le parquet, les hommes d'un côté, les femmes, de l'autre. (Vers 1897, ils firent l'acquisition de bancs mobiles avec dossier.) Leurs offices étaient chantés en langue montagnaise, à l'exception du *Kyrie eleison* et des répons de la messe, qu'ils récitaient en latin, avec l'orthographe et la prononciation montagnaises.

Même au cours de l'hiver, vivant éloignés dans la forêt, ils restaient attachés à leurs devoirs religieux. Si quelqu'un d'entre eux mourait, on enveloppait le cadavre, et, à l'aide d'un toboggan[1], on le transportait, de campement en campement, jusqu'au cimetière.

Si, comme nous venons de le constater, l'émancipation des Montagnais a déjà transformé une grande partie de leur vie matérielle, le costume féminin n'aurait pas changé depuis l'arrivée des Acadiens dans cette région. On porte encore le jupon et le mantelet d'indienne, — ou d'étoffe de différentes teintes, — le bonnet conique en drap rouge et bleu ou rouge et noir (taillé en pointes verticales), rabattu sur le côté, ainsi que les mocassins en peau de caribou ou de loup-marin. Le costume masculin, lors de l'arrivée des Acadiens, était déjà identique à celui des blancs, à l'exception de la chaussure faite de peaux de loup-marin ou de caribou et appelée mocassin.

5. L'exode acadien

Après avoir brièvement examiné les différents apports de la population à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux à la fin du XIX^e siècle, voyons maintenant ce que devinrent les Acadiens.

Avant 1880, si l'on excepte les quelques familles qui allèrent habiter Washtawaka, quelques autres qui retournèrent aux îles de la Madeleine et, chez les «Canadiens», à l'endroit d'où elles étaient venues, personne n'avait quitté Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. L'exode commença vers 1884, lorsque cinq ou six familles se dirigèrent vers la côte nord de l'île d'Anticosti et à la baie des Anglais, puis se transplantèrent ailleurs quelques années plus tard.

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[1] Mot indien: *udâbâgân*, chez les Abénaquis; *togâgun*, chez les Micmacs.

C'est en 1886 que l'émigration fut la plus forte. Cette année-là, près de la moitié de la population de Natashquan, presque toute celle de Washtawaka, une bonne partie de celle de Betchewun et quelques familles de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux essaimèrent[1] vers la Beauce et Québec. L'exode continua jusqu'en 1890.

Aussi, les familles d'origine acadienne qui ont émigré de la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent ont-elles été plus nombreuses que celles qui ont émigré des îles de la Madeleine. Environ quatre-vingts d'entre elles ont quitté Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, trente, Natashquan, et une trentaine aussi, Betchewun et Washtawaka. Les endroits où elles se sont dirigées en plus grand nombre sont: Québec, Saint-Théophile (Beauce), Thetford Mines, Fall River (États-Unis). D'autres ont préféré les rives de la baie des Chaleurs, Montréal, et divers endroits en bordure du fleuve Saint-Laurent.

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[1] Nous avons déjà expliqué, à la page 162, comment les habitants de Natashquan en vinrent à cette décision. Les raisons furent les mêmes pour toute cette population acadienne.

Seconde partie

L'ÉCONOMIE

I—L'INDUSTRIE ET LE COMMERCE

1. Les premières industries de ce temps

Les forges de Moisie

En 1866, messieurs Lamothe et Viger, de Montréal, commencèrent à exploiter la mine de fer de Moisie, employant de 400 à 500 hommes. Quelques années plus tard, M. Molson, aussi de Montréal, en devint propriétaire et continua à la faire valoir jusqu'en 1875. Après cette époque, les fourneaux et autres bâtisses furent démolis et tombèrent en ruines; en 1900, il ne s'était formé aucune autre compagnie pour en tirer profit.

Mines de la pointe Noire

Vers 1874, une compagnie s'était aussi formée pour exploiter le sable magnétique de la pointe Noire, à mi-chemin entre Longue-Pointe et Rivière-Saint-Jean. Messieurs Duval et Michaud, directeurs des travaux, chargèrent un «trois-mâts» pour l'Angleterre et une goélette pour Québec. Pour des raisons que nous ignorons, l'entreprise fut abandonnée dès la deuxième année.

Chantiers de la rivière Pentecôte

En 1883, MM. Gagnon et Frères ouvrirent un *chantier*[1] pour exploiter le bois d'épinette à la rivière Pentecôte, employant environ cent vingt-cinq hommes. Vers 1900, leur commerce périclitant, ils songeaient à le vendre à une compagnie américaine.

Engrais artificiel—Bonne-Espérance

C'est en 1886 que les Acadiens de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, à l'occasion de leurs pêches au hareng dans la baie de Bradore, apprirent l'existence d'une usine à Salmon Bay, près du havre de Bonne-Espérance. Dans cette usine (qui pouvait déjà dater de plusieurs années), on fabriquait de l'engrais avec des débris de poisson (breuilles, arêtes, têtes de morue). Les travaux discontinuèrent en 1900.

2. Le commerce

Pas plus pour le chapitre relatif au commerce que pour les autres, nous ne traiterons le sujet du point de vue strictement économique. Ce qui constitue l'objet de notre étude, ce sont les commerçants plus que le commerce et, partant, leur influence dans la région où ils se sont établis et les réactions qu'ils ont suscitées au sein de la population.

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[1] Voir définition à la page 197.

Leur nombre, par rapport à la population d'alors, les raisons qui les ont poussés à s'établir en ces lieux, leurs succès et leurs déboires, certaines descriptions des bâtisses ou des personnages sont autant de détails sur lesquels il nous a paru nécessaire d'insister avant de présenter notre matière folklorique proprement dite.

Il va de soi qu'afin de ne pas rendre fastidieux notre chapitre concernant les marchands de la Côte, nous n'avons, pour mettre en lumière la situation de l'époque, abordé qu'un village, le plus représentatif des données que nous avions à élucider. C'est donc surtout de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux (aujourd'hui, Havre-Saint-Pierre) qu'il s'agira.

Le lecteur trouvera aussi dans ce qui va suivre le complément de la partie que nous avons consacrée au «brassage des éléments ethniques» (p. 165).

A. Marchands et traiteurs

1857—*Poitras*

Le premier individu à commercer à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux fut un étranger du nom de Poitras, qui s'y rendit dès qu'il apprit l'existence d'un établissement. Il y arriva avec ses marchandises et se construisit un petit magasin en bois rond, d'une douzaine de pieds carrés, avec couverture en appentis qu'il recouvrit d'écorce.

Comme, à cette époque, la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson avait assoupli, nous dit-on, les rigueurs de sa concurrence envers les étrangers, le nouveau marchand passa l'été à cet endroit. Lorsqu'il quitta les lieux, au cours de l'automne, ce fut en promettant à la population de lui expédier sans délai la marchandise qu'on lui avait payée à l'avance et qu'il n'avait pas alors en stock. Mais on n'entendit cependant plus parler de la marchandise, ni du marchand.

1860—*Capitaine Jean Hamond*

Ce Français, né à Saint-Malo, en France, s'était d'abord établi à Saint-Thomas de Montmagny. Après avoir, durant de nombreuses années, fait la traite sur les côtes de la Gaspésie, et, vers 1855, aux îles de la Madeleine, il avait commencé, peu après, le commerce du hareng sur la rive nord du Saint-Laurent, jusqu'à Blanc-Sablon.

A l'occasion de son passage à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, en 1859, il avait demandé à un résident de l'endroit, John Doyle, de lui construire un magasin. Et c'est au début de juin 1860 qu'il s'amena, à bord de sa goélette, la *Victoria*, avec un bon stock de marchandises, accompagné d'un commis, Joseph Pelletier, et d'un bon charpentier, son neveu Alfred Vallée, qui devait lui construire une maison. Le rejoignirent, le même automne, son épouse, son fils Eugène, son gendre (William Dion) et l'épouse de ce dernier.

Après deux ans de commerce prospère, le capitaine Hamond, malade, regagna Québec où il mourut quelques mois plus tard.

Son fils et son gendre tinrent commerce quelques années encore avant de s'en retourner à Québec, laissant alors l'industrie entre les mains du neveu du capitaine Hamond, Alfred Vallée, qui le maintint de 1866 à 1869. C'est alors que ce dernier décida d'acquérir une goélette sur laquelle il navigua durant quelques années; il revint finalement à son métier de charpentier, ce qui lui permit de terminer la sacristie de l'église.

M. Vallée, qui mourut le 20 janvier 1883, garda jusqu'à la fin de sa vie le sobriquet que les jeunes filles de l'endroit lui avait donné dès son arrivée. On l'appelait «Le Moule», parce qu'il portait des pantalons si bien «crampés», dit-on, c'est-à-dire si bien repassés, qu'on l'aurait cru pris dans un moule.

1861—*Eusèbe Mercier*

Parti de Saint-Vallier (comté de Bellechasse), Eusèbe Mercier s'embarqua avec sa famille à bord de la *Marie-Lou* et vint ouvrir commerce à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, au début d'août 1861, représentant du marchand-épicier Louis Bourget, de Québec. Le menuisier qui construisit sa maison, F.-X. Roy, l'accompagnait.

Après avoir pris comme associé Daniel Costin, arrivé de Bellechasse avec sa famille, en 1863, M. Mercier lui céda la direction des affaires de M. Bourget en 1865, alors qu'atteint de tuberculose il retourna à Québec avec sa famille.

Daniel Costin continua le négoce de M. Bourget jusqu'en 1867, automne au cours duquel il perdit le *Racer* (chargé de hareng) à Port-au-Choix (T.-N.). En 1871, il quitta définitivement la région avec sa famille, pour aller s'établir au Manitoba, où il mourut le 13 mai 1895, «pauvre comme Job», dit-on, après avoir cultivé la terre durant quatorze ans, sur une propriété de M. Turgeon.

Ces renseignements ont été communiqués au père de notre informateur par M. Pierre Demasson[1], devenu son voisin au Manitoba.

1866—*Peter Legros*

C'est en 1865 que le brigantin *Shamrock* débarquait à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux le Jerseyais Peter Legros et son père, le capitaine Thomas Legros, qui se rendaient à cet endroit pour acheter la morue (le capitaine Legros possédait déjà un établissement de pêche près de la rivière Sheldrake).

En 1866, Peter Legros décida de tenir commerce à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux; et en 1867, après la dissolution de la compagnie Bourget et Mercier, il acheta toutes ces propriétés, changea la maison d'emplacement et construisit un grand magasin sur les anciennes fondations.

Il commerça jusqu'en 1876, alors qu'il vendit ses propriétés à M. Le Boutillier, de Gaspé. Marié depuis six ans, il quitta Pointe-aux-Esquimaux avec sa famille[1], pour aller vivre à Gaspé, rapportant, a-t-on dit, $8,000 de profits.

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[1] Voir «Corps de métiers», p. 167.

En 1895, à l'âge de cinquante-quatre ans, il vendit à nouveau ses propriétés de Gaspé pour aller s'établir à Jersey, où il mourut le 7 décembre 1911.

1865—*La Française*

Au cours des automnes 1858 et 1859, Jean Chrysostome de la Ruelle et François Guitony, deux Français, descendirent chasser à Betchewun. En 1860, madame de la Ruelle accompagna son époux sur l'île, où ils demeurèrent jusqu'en 1864, et, F. Guitony, devenu veuf, construisit sa petite habitation dans la baie à Victor, où il vécut près de Maltide Blais (descendue de Berthier vers 1861) qu'il épousa en 1863.

En 1864, les époux de la Ruelle traversèrent en France pour y retrouver leur fils, âgé de vingt ans. Après neuf mois d'absence, en juillet 1865, ils le ramenèrent avec eux à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, où ils achetèrent un terrain de François Petit-Pas pour la construction de leur maison. Dès l'automne, ils commencèrent à y tenir commerce, investissant ainsi une partie de leur capital se chiffrant à $6,000.

Au cours de l'automne de 1866, leur fils, Arthur, repassa en France (sa mère ne pouvant le souffrir, a-t-on dit), et, au printemps de 1867, M. de la Ruelle mourait d'apoplexie sur l'île Large. La veuve continua le commerce et, en septembre 1869, épousa Élie Lavoie, de Saint-Denis de Kamouraska. Malgré le capital de $3,000 que possédait ce dernier, «la Française», plutôt que d'augmenter le commerce, le diminua graduellement — surtout vers 1875, alors que les crédits furent coupés — jusqu'en 1882 ou 1883, année de la fermeture du magasin.

En 1890 cependant, le Français M. Warner, donna à la famille Lavoie un stock d'environ $1,500 à vendre à demi-profit, négoce qui dura jusqu'en 1898. Depuis 1887 ou 1888, celle-ci tenait aussi le magasin de boissons alcooliques de l'endroit.

M. Lavoie mourut en août 1900, à l'âge de soixante-treize ans, et «la Française», le 15 avril 1901, à l'âge de quatre-vingt-un ans. Cette dernière laissa toutes ses propriétés au D^{r} Tremblay, générosité que la population de l'endroit n'arriva pas à comprendre.

1870—*Turgeon et Corriveau*

Le 14 mai 1860, alors que l'équipage du *Wide-Awake* et du *Veneleo* était occupé à débarquer les 2,300 loups-marins apportés la veille, on aperçut, sur le pont d'une petite goélette de 18 à 20 tonneaux passant à portée de voix, un petit homme «en capot gris d'étoffe du pays, avec une tuque rouge sur la tête», qui héla l'équipage en ces termes: «*C'est-i' loin d'ici Natashquan?*» Xavier, le pêcheur, répondit qu'il y avait encore 25 lieues.

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[1] Il retourna cependant à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, au cours des quatre ou cinq étés suivants, et travailla au service de M. Le Boutillier.

Ce petit homme «en capot gris», c'était François-Xavier Corriveau, de Berthier, qui descendait le long de la Côte pour la première fois et qui décida de faire la traite de la pelleterie, de Wapitagun en remontant le fleuve.

En 1870, il s'associa avec Damase Turgeon, de Beaumont, qui trafiquait (surtout avec les Indiens) depuis une vingtaine d'années[1], de Natashquan en direction de Sept-Îles.

Les deux hommes construisirent un magasin à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, établirent des succursales, dirigées par des agents, à Betchewun, Nabesipi, Natashquan et Romaine, et maintinrent plusieurs goélettes sur les eaux, notamment la *Sainte-Anne,* la plus grande, qui jaugeait 66 tonneaux. C'est surtout cette dernière qui fit la traite avec Terre-Neuve et y laissa d'ailleurs $10,000 de crédits.

Ces commerçants furent, durant vingt ans, les plus prospères de la région. A Pointe-aux-Esquimaux uniquement, leur chiffre d'affaires annuel se maintenait à $30,000. Ils déclarèrent cependant faillite en 1893. M. Corriveau, qui repassa par la suite quelques fois sur la côte, mourut en 1899, alors qu'on ne revit plus M. Turgeon, qui mourut en 1909, à l'âge de quatre-vingts ans.

1876—*Charles Le Boutillier*

Lorsqu'en 1876 le Jerseyais Peter Legros quitta Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, il vendit toutes ses propriétés à M. Le Boutillier, de Gaspé, qui, depuis plusieurs années, échangeait, sur la Côte, des quintaux de morue contre des barils de sel que requérait la pêche au hareng. Le nouveau propriétaire plaça un Jerseyais comme agent, Charles Ahier, tout en confiant, durant quatre ou cinq ans, certaines responsabilités à M. Legros.

Vers 1888, des commis de Gaspé prirent la relève, mais en 1891, M. Le Boutillier fit faillite et le commerce tomba successivement entre les mains de la *Petroleum Oil Trust Company,* de MM. Carpenter et Foly, de la Gaspésie. Ce dernier maintint les affaires de façon prospère pendant plusieurs années.

1890—*Charles Ahier*

Charles Ahier, Jerseyais, d'abord à l'emploi du capitaine Legros, habita Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1866; en 1868, il acheta l'*Ocean Bride,* et, en 1872, la *D.H.P.,* en société avec Samuel Doyle. Il navigua jusqu'en 1876, alors que M. Le Boutillier se l'attacha comme agent.

C'est en 1890 qu'il prit commerce à son compte, avec un stock d'environ $1,500, se composant de tissus, d'un peu de ferblanterie, de vaisselle, d'épiceries et d'agrès de pêche.

Pour cause de santé, il quitta l'endroit en 1900 et mourut à Montréal, en 1923, à l'âge de quatre-vingt-trois ans. Il correspondit jusqu'à sa mort avec ses amis de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

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[1] Il avait été l'associé du commerçant Poitras dont il a été question au début de ce chapitre.

1890—*J. C. Nickerson*

Le Néo-Écossais J. C. Nickerson habita la côte de Kegashka en 1863, Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1866, où il travailla à la construction de quelques goélettes, chassant, en hiver, dans la baie Sainte-Geneviève, plus précisément à l'endroit appelé Pillage Bay, qui porte aujourd'hui son nom.

Il quitta Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1874 et se rendit à l'île d'Anticosti, mais retourna à la Pointe en 1890, apportant un stock d'environ $1,200, en majeure partie de l'épicerie.

Il avait alors amené avec lui sa fille unique, qui continuait le commerce au cours des chasses hivernales de son père. En 1894, elle épousa son cousin, de qui elle était l'aînée de quinze ans. Quatre ans plus tard, ces deux derniers voulurent quitter la Côte pour s'en retourner en Nouvelle-Écosse. M. Nickerson vendit alors le reste de son stock et réintégra sa cabane de la baie Sainte-Geneviève.

1892—*Decourval*

M. Decourval, arpenteur, avait le contrat de la ligne télégraphique de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux jusqu'à la baie des Châteaux; il construisit, en 1892, un grand magasin à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, avec l'intention de tenir commerce sur une grande échelle. Le succès désiré ne semble pas avoir été obtenu puisque, dix ans plus tard, le stock, confié uniquement à des commis, s'écoulait et se liquidait.

1892—*Petroleum Oil Trust Company*

Voir 1876, Charles Le Boutillier, au sujet de cette compagnie.

Des habitants de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux qui ont aussi tenu commerce

1858—*Vital Vigneau*

A l'automne de 1858, lorsque Vital Vigneau émigra des îles de la Madeleine à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, Daniel Cronan, riche marchand d'Halifax, lui remit un stock d'environ $3,000, et autant à l'automne de 1859.

Après 1860, lors de l'apparition des traiteurs de Québec, le commerce périclita, non seulement par suite de la concurrence, mais à cause de la sentimentalité du marchand qui vendait aussi bien à pertes qu'à profits: au cours de ses trois années de négoce, il ne réalisa qu'un profit dérisoire de $200.

1873—*Amédée Vigneau*

C'est après avoir abandonné la navigation, en 1873, et avoir acquis un capital de $2,500 que M. Vigneau ouvrit un magasin général très bien organisé. Ses prix étant assez élevés, il accumula de gros profits.

A sa mort, en 1885, lui succédèrent dans le commerce son fils, André, et son gendre, M. Blais, qui abandonnèrent les affaires vers 1890.

1872—*Luc Cormier*

Luc Cormier, de Lamèque (N.-B.), ne possédait aucun avoir lorsqu'il ouvrit commerce à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, en 1872 ou 1873. Il acheta d'abord quelques barils de viande de qualité douteuse et une poignée de marchandises de qualité inférieure. Il augmenta son stock petit à petit. En 1880, il avait dominé la situation; en 1889, les crédits qu'il avait consentis commençaient à l'écraser; en 1899, il faisait faillite, rachetait le commerce et s'en tirait assez bien.

1871—*André Blais*

A la mort de sa femme, André Blais monta à Québec et, après quelques années, épousa une célibataire de Porte-Lance. Ils descendirent à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux en 1871, tinrent commerce durant quatre ou cinq ans, firent faillite et regagnèrent Québec. Ledit marchand redescendit quelques années plus tard le long de la Côte et mourut chez son fils, en 1899.

1894—*Les frères Boudreau*

Peu fortunés, les frères Boudreau (Fidèle, John et Charles) avaient toujours fait la pêche à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux quand, en 1894, M. Cormier, de Pointe-Lévis, leur avança de la marchandise pour quelques centaines de dollars.

Leur commerce, dès lors, commença à prospérer et demeura florissant jusqu'en 1923, année où ils firent faillite.

Commerces divers et de peu d'importance

Nathaël Boudreau (en 1858), Alfred Vallée (en 1866) et Georges Brochu (en 1895), venus de Sept-Îles, ont aussi tenu commerce dans l'entretemps; la valeur de leurs stocks ne dépassait guère $200. Nous n'avons pas cru nécessaire d'ouvrir une rubrique spéciale à chacun d'eux.

Il y eut aussi un individu qui se disait médecin, le docteur Martin, de Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, qui commerça de 1869 à 1872; de même qu'un Juif qui trafiqua les peaux chez Joachim Boudreau en 1890.

B. Traiteurs en goélettes

Il s'agit ici de ceux qui, n'ayant pas le temps de débarquer leurs effets, commerçaient à bord de leur goélette.

1859—*Fraser, Turgeon*

Peter Fraser, des environs de Québec, fit la traite sur la Côte, de 1859 à 1862, à bord de la *Marie-Luce*. M. Turgeon, associé de M. Corriveau, la fit de 1859 à 1870, sur la *Weasel*.

1860—*Corriveau*

Voir: «Marchands et traiteurs», 1870, Turgeon et Corriveau, page 175.

1863—*Gagné*

Thomas Gagné, de Québec, trafiqua à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, de 1863 à 1867, à bord du *Fraser*. La goélette ayant été saisie au cours de la dernière année, il devint gardien de phare sur l'île d'Anticosti, emploi qu'il conserva jusqu'en 1890.

Au même temps, P. Blouin et L. Lachance commencèrent à faire la traite et continuèrent jusqu'à la mort de M. Blouin, en 1870. C'est alors que M. Lachance s'associa avec le capitaine Dugal.

1864—*Pierre Blouin*

Pierre Blouin, célibataire, fit la traite à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux de 1864 à 1886, à bord d'un petit bateau; un de ses frères l'accompagna durant quatre ou cinq ans, et, par la suite, un commis.

1871—*Lachance et Dugal*

En 1871, après la mort de Ferdinand Blouin, M. Louis Lachance s'associa avec son beau-frère, le capitaine Louis Dugal, pour trafiquer jusqu'en 1883 ou 1884.

1883—*McNeil*

Gilbert McNeil, de Beaumont, qui avait navigué durant plusieurs années comme capitaine pour Turgeon et Corriveau, à bord de la *Sainte-Anne,* fit la traite à son compte de 1883 à 1890, sur sa goélette, l'*Anne-Prudence,* qui jaugeait environ 30 tonneaux. Il concurrençait Bérubé et Marquis, de Sept-Îles.

Au cours des années de plus grande prospérité, plusieurs de ces traiteurs débarquaient leur marchandise dans les magasins de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux pour la vendre avec plus de facilité. La plupart d'entre eux commerçaient tout le long de la Côte Nord. Il en est aussi quelques autres que nous n'avons pas mentionnés, parce que leur commerce fut de courte durée et leurs affaires d'importance mineure.

A ces traiteurs, presque tous originaires de la région de Québec, ajoutons maintenant ceux d'Halifax (N.-É.).

1864-1893—*John W. Pitts*

C'est vers 1840 que Daniel Cronan, riche marchand d'Halifax, se livra à la traite sur la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent. Comme il fit des affaires d'or avec la population de cette région, il lui promit, une fois devenu riche, de continuer à lui envoyer une goélette pour la traite.

Il tint parole. Au printemps de 1859, George Davis se présenta à bord de la *Nancy* pour acheter toutes les peaux de loup-marin; de 1860 à 1863, ce fut Patrick Day, et, en 1864, le neveu de M. Cronan, John W. Pitts[1].

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[1] Une deuxième goélette était aussi souvent envoyée au cours du mois d'août, afin d'y acheter la morue sèche.

Tout en continuant la traite le long de la Côte, ce dernier construisit à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux un grand magasin ne contenant pratiquement que des agrès de pêche, réservant cependant une partie de la bâtisse pour y entreposer les peaux et la morue sèche qu'il ne pouvait expédier sur-le-champ.

Lorsque M. Cronan, célibataire, mourut en 1893, à l'âge de quatre-vingt-dix ans, laissant une fortune de $800,000, ce fut la fin du commerce de John W. Pitts, qui touchait une partie de l'héritage.

De la Nouvelle-Écosse, avaient aussi commercé le long de la Côte, les Promky, Silver, Thompson et Kennedy, ces derniers s'étant cependant rarement arrêtés à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

3. La pêche à la morue

D'après les témoignages que des vieillards (nés en 1805 et en 1810) ont transmis au père de l'un de nos informateurs, c'est entre 1825 et 1830 que les goélettes des îles de la Madeleine commencèrent à traverser sur la côte du Labrador, jusqu'à Blanc-Sablon, pour pêcher la morue. A la même époque, d'autres allaient aussi pêcher à Fox Bay (Anticosti) et à Natashquan[1].

De 1850 à 1860, toutes ou presque toutes les goélettes des îles, au nombre de vingt-cinq, se rendaient directement à Blanc-Sablon (de la mi-juin à la fin d'août). La maison Le Boutillier et Frères, établie sur l'Île-à-Bois, leur avançait les provisions, le sel, les lignes, bref, tout l'équipement nécessaire à leur pêche. L'huile de morue était aussi vendue sur les lieux à des traiteurs de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Le prix était assez bon; en 1852, une seule goélette en vendit pour $450.

D'autres groupes des îles de la Madeleine allaient aussi «pêcher au cent»[2] pour les maisons de Quetteville et Le Boutillier, qui leur fournissaient embarcations et appâts et leur payaient un dollar (moitié argent, moitié marchandise) pour cent morues rondes jetées sur le «chafaud»[3], conditions que les pêcheurs trouvaient avantageuses. D'autres étaient embauchés comme trancheurs et recevaient un salaire très raisonnable. D'autres encore étaient embarqués, à raison de $30 et $35, à bord des goélettes américaines fréquentant la Côte.

Durant les quatre premières années qui suivirent l'établissement de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, c'est-à-dire de 1857 à 1861, la pêche en goélette se fit à Sheldrake et à Rivière-au-Tonnerre. Après ce temps-là, la morue se faisant plus rare, on déménagea à Natashquan. Mais en 1863, il fallut descendre plus bas encore, soit à Baie-des-Moutons. En 1868, c'est à Romaine qu'on eut le plus de succès, endroit où ne semblait s'être fixée encore aucune goélette. Et jusqu'en 1885, on sillonna ainsi cette partie de la Côte s'étalant de Natashquan à Baie-des-Moutons. Les trois années suivantes, vu la rareté de la morue dans ces parages, on fréquenta Saint-Augustin jusqu'au bassin de Bradore; on refaisait ensuite, jusqu'à la fin de la pêche, les postes de Natashquan à Baie-des-Moutons. Dans l'entre-temps (en 1864, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1879 et 1888), quelques-uns avaient tenté leur chance à l'île d'Anticosti. Mais en 1890, le nombre des goélettes commença à diminuer.

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[1] Il ne faut pas croire que, même à cette époque, l'abondance de la morue était régulière d'année en année. En 1832, par exemple, sur trois goélettes des îles aventurées jusqu'à Pied-Noir et Cap-Charles (Labrador terre-neuvien), deux s'en retournèrent à la fin d'août avec 20 quintaux de morue, et l'autre, un peu plus tard, avec 100 quintaux.

[2] La «pêche au cent» exista de 1853 à 1871.

[3] *Chafaud, aphérèse d'échafaud, décrit bien ces petits bâtiments érigés sur pilotis au bord de la mer et dans lesquels les pêcheurs remisent leurs agrès.* (Carbonneau, Hector, I, p. 14.)

Peu après l'établissement de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, et cela jusqu'en 1885, il y avait assez de goélettes pour prendre à leur bord tous les hommes valides de l'endroit. Durant la saison de la pêche, il ne restait dans le village que les vieillards et les garçonnets de moins de douze ans[1].

Les grandes goélettes (de 35 tonneaux) s'équipaient, pour leur pêche, de trois «barges»[2] et parfois de quatre[3], lorsque l'on prévoyait que la morue serait plus rare que d'habitude. Composaient l'équipage: six pêcheurs, un trancheur, un saleur, un décolleur, un piqueur et un «couque»[4]. Le décolleur, le piqueur et le «couque» étaient des mousses de douze à seize ans. Si l'on partait avec quatre «barges», on ajoutait deux hommes à l'équipage. Les goélettes de plus de 35 tonneaux ne prenaient à leur bord que deux «barges» et quatre hommes (dont deux mousses d'équipage).

On considérait que les grandes goélettes avaient fait une bonne pêche lorsqu'elles rapportaient de 350 à 500 quintaux de morue, et les petites, de 250 à 300.

Dès 1870 cependant, d'autres pêcheurs, désireux de réduire leurs dépenses, firent l'acquisition de grandes «barges» et pêchèrent près de la rivière Nabesipi, à la «Cormoranière», dite aussi «rocher à Théodule Pilote», et, peu à peu, à Agwanus, à l'île à Michon (près de Washtawaka) et à Natashquan. Vers le début du XX^e^ siècle, les «barges» avaient supplanté les goélettes: on en comptait cent vingt, dont une quarantaine construites à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux[5] (à partir de 1894) par Dominique Cormier, les autres ayant été achetées à Natashquan[6], Sheldrake et Gaspé.

On pêchait alors à Natashquan et à Agwanus jusque vers la fin de juillet, et l'on revenait jeter les lignes dans la région de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux (de Longue-Pointe à Piashte Bay), en août, septembre et octobre. Cette dernière pêche donnait de 20 à 30 barils par «barge» et quelques quintaux de morue sèche.

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[1] D'autres informateurs nous ont raconté que, même en 1895, à la mort de Jean Cormier, âgé de quatre-vingt-cinq ans, faute de bras d'hommes pour le porter en terre, on le laissa dans le vieux cimetière, plus à proximité de l'église.

[2] *«Forme ancienne de barque.»* (Merrien, Jean, 7, p. 66.)

[3] En 1870, les petites «barges» de la Nouvelle-Écosse remplacèrent les précédentes et devinrent d'usage général. On les achetait des Néo-Écossais à la fin de leurs voyages de pêche.

[4] *Coq, n. m. / néerl. kok ou ital. cuoco, du lat. coquus, cuisinier, de coquere, cuire / Cuisinier.* (Merrien, Jean, 7, p. 184.)

[5] Celles-là avaient de 27 à 29 pieds de quille.

[6] Ce sont les pêcheurs de Natashquan qui, les premiers, commencèrent, vers 1877, à construire un «cuddy» (logement à l'avant de leur «barge») pour se mettre à l'abri du mauvais temps lorsqu'ils prolongeaient leurs voyages en mer.

4. La pêche au hareng

Avant 1855, jamais plus d'une ou deux goélettes par saison ne descendaient de Québec pour faire le commerce du hareng sur la Côte. Et certaines années, il n'en descendait pas du tout. Les marchands de Terre-Neuve cependant exportaient beaucoup de hareng à Québec et à Montréal.

Après 1855, lorsque l'on vit arriver à Québec les pêcheurs de la Côte Nord chargés de hareng, plusieurs navigateurs de la région s'intéressèrent à ce commerce, de sorte que, de 1860 à 1877, on en comptait plus d'une douzaine. Mais comme le hareng commençait déjà à se faire plus rare sur la côte nord du détroit de Belle-Île, la plus grande partie de leur commerce s'orientait du côté de Terre-Neuve, entre Savage Cove et Port-au-Choix. Ils payaient alors le hareng de un à deux dollars le baril (en marchandises et non en argent), selon son abondance ou sa rareté; mais ils fournissaient les barils et le sel pour l'encaquer. Ce poisson était ensuite vendu à Québec à raison de $4.50 et $5.75, parfois $6. Le prix descendit à $3.50, mais très rarement.

Lorsque les Acadiens des îles de la Madeleine, avant de s'établir sur la Côte, commencèrent à fréquenter ces parages, ils en capturaient de 50 à 100 barils par goélette, selon que leur charge de morue leur laissait plus ou moins d'espace dans les cales. Le hareng se pêchait vers la mi-août, soit à Forteau Bay ou à Blanc-Sablon, avec les sennes des maisons Quetteville et Le Boutillier. Les pêcheurs fournissaient une partie de l'équipage, et remettaient aux propriétaires de la senne une «bargée» de poisson sur deux.

C'est en 1860, trois ans après leur établissement à cet endroit, que les habitants de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux commencèrent à acquérir leurs propres sennes[1]. Elles coûtaient en moyenne $500, avaient de 100 à 110 brasses de longueur, 7 à 9 de hauteur, et des mailles de un demi-pouce. Bien entretenues, elles duraient de huit à dix ans.

Durant les premières années, une senne pouvait fournir de hareng quatre goélettes; mais lorsque ce poisson devint plus rare et que le nombre des pêcheurs eut augmenté de façon considérable, on n'arma plus que trois goélettes, parfois deux seulement. Chaque homme de ces équipages devait donner au propriétaire de la senne le prix d'un baril de hareng vendu à Québec, sans tenir compte de la quantité de ses prises.

C'est à cette époque que les Acadiens, sur les instances du capitaine Le Marquand[2], traversèrent pêcher, pour la première fois, à Terre-Neuve. Malgré leur crainte de rencontrer le garde-côte français, ils ne furent pas molestés, mais simplement prévenus de temps en temps de regagner leurs côtes. Ils changeaient alors de havre pour quelques jours, jusqu'au départ du patrouilleur pour une autre station, et revenaient se fixer entre Savage Cove et Port-au-Choix. Dans les «mouvées»[3] grouillantes de harengs on prenait alors de 50 à 100 barils à la fois, ce qui obligeait parfois à vider la senne trois ou quatre fois par jour.

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[1] De 1861 à 1895, neuf pêcheurs de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux s'en procurèrent. A Terre-Neuve, on acheta les premières en 1862, lorsque la demande du hareng par les commerçants prit une certaine importance.

[2] Il avait été agent de la compagnie Le Boutillier, à l'Île-à-Bois, de 1847 à 1854, et connaissait, par conséquent, très bien ces côtes.

[3] Bancs de poissons en mouvement.

Un bon voyage ordinaire rapportait environ 300 barils aux goélettes[1] de 40 à 50 tonneaux, et de 180 à 200 aux plus petites. On a toutefois connu des traits de senne s'élevant jusqu'à 1,500 et 1,780 barils chacun. Il faut noter cependant que le hareng n'était pas d'abondance régulière tous les ans. En 1876[2], une seule goélette a rapporté 100 barils, la prise des autres variant de 15 à 80 barils. Par exemple, en 1878, les 22 goélettes de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux rapportaient en tout 800 barils; en 1879, les prises étaient nulles. C'est ainsi que, jusqu'à la fin du siècle, on connut des années de peu d'abondance, et l'on finit par laisser tomber cette prospère industrie qui, en 1873, avait groupé[3] dans le port de Sainte-Barbe (détroit de Belle-Île) 34 sennes, soit une flotte de 80 à 85 voiles, et, quelques années plus tard, à Port-au-Choix, 66 sennes, dont les quelque sept ou huit appartenant aux Français.

Les Français avaient fréquenté tous les havres situés entre Savage Cove et Port-au-Choix: Les Fleurs, les îles Françaises, Pointe-de-l'Ancre, l'île des Courants, Sainte-Geneviève, l'île Fiche, Brisk Bay, Vieux Férolle, etc. Vers 1860, leurs principaux armateurs étaient: La Veuve, Le Mossu, Léniel, Landegrène, Fontan, Guibert, Lemoine et Camolet. Outre leurs habitations fixes, ils avaient aussi des *défileurs,* vaisseaux qui pêchaient d'un havre à l'autre, selon l'abondance ou la rareté des prises. En 1862, les Français commencèrent à abandonner plusieurs ports: Savage Cove, Les Fleurs, les îles Françaises et Pointe-de-l'Ancre; un peu plus tard: l'île des Courants, l'île Fiche, etc., de sorte qu'en 1880, deux habitations persistaient sur l'île Saint-Jean (Terre-Neuve), une sur l'île aux Sauvages, et quatre à Port-au-Choix, avec les armateurs Guibert, Fontan, Lemoine et Camolet. En 1895, on n'en comptait plus que deux à Port-au-Choix, les autres ayant abandonné le métier.

5. La pêche au homard

La pêche au homard, de date récente chez les Acadiens de la rive nord du Saint-Laurent, commença en 1887, avec Christophe Cormier et son beau-frère arrivé l'année précédente des îles de la Madeleine. Il établit sa conserverie au Bluff, c'est-à-dire entre Romaine et la baie de Cocoachoo; quatre ans plus tard on n'y pêchait plus, et M. Cormier n'avait réussi qu'à payer ses dépenses. D'autres ont aussi pratiqué cette pêche entre Pointe-aux-Esquimaux et Natashquan, mais sans en retirer de profits importants.

Les Néo-Écossais qui, entre 1880 et 1885, ont établi des commerces du genre entre Saint-Augustin et cap Wittle ont dû aussi les abandonner, parce que le homard n'y était pas assez abondant.

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[1] On avait deux «barges» par goélette, lesquelles, à la pêche, suivaient la baleinière. L'équipage de cette dernière se composait de sept hommes: le maître de senne (à l'avant), quatre rameurs, deux hommes pour vider la senne (dont l'un gouvernait l'embarcation).

[2] Année où il commença à se faire nettement plus rare.

[3] Il y avait là des pêcheurs de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, des iles de la Madeleine, de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, de la côte sud de Terre-Neuve, de la Nouvelle-Écosse et même des États-Unis.

Des efforts conjugués et soutenus ont conservé à cette pêche un certain intérêt par la suite, mais les revenus sont restés négligeables, et les prises, très faibles. La situation ne s'est pas améliorée, puisqu'en 1957, on nous disait à Tête-à-la-Baleine: *I' y a p'us beaucoup de homard à c't' heure. A cinquante trappes*[1]*, le meilleur pêcheur a pris deux caisses de homards seulement, c't' année.* Et pourtant l'on nous a souvent répété qu'avec Bradore, Tête-à-la-Baleine constituait le meilleur endroit pour pêcher le homard. A Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon, on nous apprenait d'autre part que: *On fait la pêche au homard surtout dans la baie de Bradore, mais pas pour le marché, pour manger seulement.* A Havre-Saint-Pierre, on ne le pêchait alors pas du tout; à Natashquan, les versions ne variaient guère: *I' s' prend p'us de homard; on a tendu cinq cages c't' année et on n'a rien pris.*

6. Les naufrages

Il peut sembler assez étrange de nous voir présenter les naufrages au chapitre intitulé «Économie». Il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'ils furent exploités comme tels et constituèrent parfois une importante source de revenus, lorsqu'ils ne se produisaient pas, bien entendu, au sein de la flotte des insulaires. Nous avons déjà mentionné, en parlant de l'établissement de Kegashka, comment les gens de l'endroit, grâce à deux naufrages survenus dans leurs parages, trouvèrent le bois nécessaire à la construction de leurs maisons et de leur église.

Voici maintenant la liste des bateaux dont le naufrage, à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, a procuré des profits à la population.

En 1857, le *Clyde*

Vers la fin d'août 1857, l'année de l'établissement de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, le *Clyde*, vapeur de la ligne Anchor, fit naufrage sur l'une des îles aux Perroquets de Mingan. La population sauva une quantité d'articles divers qui lui rapporta plusieurs centaines de dollars.

En 1861, le *Norwegian*

Le 9 août 1861, Prosper Cyr, à bord de sa goélette, l'*Alphonsine*, explora les rives nord de l'île d'Anticosti, à la recherche de bois de pin. Il y trouva quantité de marchandises jetées à l'eau par le *Norwegian*, qui avait touché les récifs de White Cliff. La nouvelle se répandit, et plusieurs «barges» de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux se rendirent sur les lieux d'où, après quelques semaines, on rapporta des marchandises pour une valeur de $4,000 à $5,000.

En 1861, le *North Briton*

Au cours de l'automne de 1861, le vapeur *North Briton*, de la ligne Allan, fit naufrage sur l'île où s'était jeté le *Clyde*, en 1857. Il fut sauvé, en pièces de mérinos, en beurre, fromage et différentes autres denrées, pour environ $3,000. Les habitants de Longue-Pointe firent mieux encore, puisqu'un seul d'entre eux (M. Hamilton) rafla pour une valeur de $8,000.

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[1] Casiers à homards.

En 1862, le *Surinam*

Le 4 octobre 1862, à la sortie du havre de Mingan, les goélettes *Victoria* et *Constantine,* en route pour Québec, recueillirent l'équipage du navire *Surinam;* le capitaine K. Andrew l'avait abandonné, en feu et prêt à couler, au large de l'île Quarry. L'équipage fut transporté à Québec par les deux goélettes et l'on reçut, en plus d'une chaloupe, de l'habitacle, des fanaux de position, etc., une somme de $40 du gouvernement. Le tout se chiffra à $150.

En 1864, l'*Eagle-Sea-Man*

Le 15 avril 1864, Vital Vigneau, avec le *Wide-Awake,* sauva sur les glaces, au large de la baie Gamache, l'équipage du navire *Eagle-Sea-Man* et le débarqua le 17 à la pointe de l'Ouest. Le capitaine James donna à V. Vigneau ses deux chaloupes, deux compas, deux fanaux de position, une carabine et trois voiles. Malgré la publicité que le capitaine répandit dans les journaux, V. Vigneau ne reçut du gouvernement ni récompense ni décoration.

En 1869

En avril 1869, Julien Boudreau, à bord de sa géolette *Constantine,* trouva sur les glaces une quantité d'objets abandonnés là par un brick de Terre-Neuve écrasé par les glaces. Il rapporta des voiles, une batterie de cuisine, une *cambuse*[1], du pain, du beurre, des fusils, une boîte de médicaments, un sextant, une pendule et des livres de marine. Le tout fut évalué alors à $200.

En 1872, le *Hunts-Man*

Le 27 mai 1872, une goélette (la *Sainte-Anne*) arrivait de Natashquan pour apprendre à la population de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux qu'un brick était désemparé près de Sainte-Geneviève. Quatre goélettes partirent aussitôt à sa recherche, et, à sept heures ce soir-là, le *Veneleo* et le *Mariner* arrivaient sur les lieux, au large de l'île Saint-Charles. Mais la tempête s'élevant dans la nuit, le navire coula à Niapiska. On en retira 320 loups-marins, 4 fusils, 20 coffres de provisions dans lesquels on trouva le nom du capitaine Robert Dawe et celui du brick *Hunts-Man.* On apprit plus tard qu'au cours de l'été, ce brick avait été brisé par un coup de mer et que trois membres de l'équipage avaient péri; les autres avaient été recueillis par un vapeur loup-marinier. Ce naufrage rapporta à la population de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux environ $1,200.

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[1] *Cambuse: A bord d'un yack, caisson à vivres.* (Merrien, Jean, 7, p. 127.)

En 1876, *cinq goélettes canadiennes*

Durant la nuit du 15 au 16 octobre, par un cyclone de vent d'est, cinq goélettes canadiennes firent naufrage sur les îles avoisinant Pointe-aux-Esquimaux:

La *Catarina*, avec le capitaine Tremblay, sur les rochers Sainte-Geneviève;

La *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, avec le capitaine Corriveau, sur l'île Betchewun;

La *Lady Elgin*, avec le capitaine Gaumont, sur l'île Saint-Charles;

La *Sainte-Croix*, avec le capitaine Boily, sur l'île du Défunt Français;

La *Zélia*, avec le capitaine Roger Lavoie, sur l'île du Défunt Français.

Ce dernier se perdit corps et biens, sa goélette, trop chargée, n'ayant pu, comme les autres, se jeter sur la côte.

Ces cinq naufrages rapportèrent à la population de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux de $2,500 à $3,000.

En 1884, l'*Elizabeth-Jane*

Le 28 octobre 1884, le brigantin *Elizabeth-Jane*, de Saint-Jean, Terre-Neuve, fit naufrage sur la petite île au Marteau. Comme il portait 1,100 barils de hareng à destination de Québec, le capitaine Taylor en fit sauver la moitié aux insulaires et nolisa deux goélettes pour transporter le reste. Le vaisseau fut vendu $42 et revendu l'année suivante à Phidelme Blouin, de l'île d'Orléans, qui ne réussit jamais à le renflouer. Ce naufrage rapporta $2,500 à Pointe-aux-Esquimaux.

En 1885, le *Brooklyn*

Au début de novembre 1885, le vapeur *Brooklyn*, de la ligne Dominion, fit naufrage à Beau-Cap (Anticosti). Quelques goélettes de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux s'y rendirent et sauvèrent beaucoup de laine non cardée et d'autres marchandises. Au cours de l'hiver, cinq jeunes gens de l'endroit poursuivirent à nouveau les débris jusqu'à l'île d'Anticosti, mais rapportèrent peu de chose. Ce naufrage laissa environ $500 à la population.

En 1886, l'*Olivette*

Le 8 août 1886, l'épave de la «barquentine» *Olivette* (290 tonneaux), de Charlottetown (Î. du P.-É.), entraînée et brisée par les glaces sur l'île Saint-Paul, atterrit sur la pointe ouest de l'île Saint-Charles. Elle était chargée d'avoine «en grenier». Elle avait encore ses chaînes et ses ancres, ses bas-mâts avec leurs haubans, mais tout le reste du gréement avait été enlevé. Il fut sauvé de l'avoine pour plus de $1,200. On la vendait 60 à 70 cents le baril, une fois séchée. Emmanuel Terriau trouva, dans son avoine, une belle bague dans laquelle était enchâssée une opale. Il l'échangea à un ami contre un baril de farine. Du bateau lui-même, qui était de belle construction, on retira 4,400 livres de cuivre et 20,500 livres de fer, soit une valeur de $324.

En 1902, l'*Indiana*

Le 26 juin 1902, un vapeur, de plus de 4,000 tonneaux, s'échoua du côté sud-ouest de l'île Nue de Mingan et dut jeter de l'amiante, du blé et du foin à l'eau pour se renflouer. Les bœufs et les moutons qu'il transportait furent descendus à Mingan par le vapeur *King Edward*; l'*Indiana* était remis à flot le 6 juillet.

De ce naufrage, les habitants de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux sauvèrent du blé pour une valeur de $2,000 et de l'avoine, pour $3,000.

7. La chasse au loup-marin

Les Acadiens ont-ils commencé à chasser le loup-marin dans le golfe dès leur établissement à Chéticamp et aux îles de la Madeleine, vers 1765? Chose certaine, c'est qu'en 1800 plusieurs de leurs goélettes s'occupaient à cette industrie. A l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, par contre, on ne s'est pas servi des goélettes pour chasser le loup-marin, alors qu'à Arichat, on les utilisa jusque vers 1820.

On chassait autour des îles de la Madeleine, de l'île Saint-Paul et entre l'île d'Anticosti et Gaspé. On se rendait très rarement près de la rive nord du Saint-Laurent, et moins encore à l'entrée du détroit de Belle-Île. En 1835, deux goélettes s'y aventurèrent et ne purent retourner aux îles qu'à la mi-juin.

Mais après l'établissement des Acadiens sur la rive nord du fleuve, le loup-marin se déplaça du golfe en direction du détroit de Belle-Île, qu'il fréquenta durant une vingtaine d'années. Vers 1880, il aborda surtout dans le golfe, et l'on en reprit alors la chasse aux îles de la Madeleine.

Vers 1867, si les goélettes de Chéticamp discontinuèrent la chasse au loup-marin, le nombre des chasseurs ne diminua pas pour tout cela, car de Port-aux-Basques, de la côte ouest de Terre-Neuve, d'autres chasseurs surgirent; aussi, de 1875 à 1890, comptait-on une soixantaine de goélettes[1] chassant ce mammifère dans le golfe et au détroit de Belle-Île, sans inclure dans ces statistiques trois vapeurs de Saint-Jean (T.-N.).

C'est à ces derniers qu'on attribua la diminution du loup-marin dans les parages, parce que les vapeurs pouvaient parcourir le golfe et le détroit en moins d'une semaine, ce pendant que les goélettes restaient parfois prises dans les glaces une partie du printemps. Aussi, vers 1906, ne voyait-on plus guère que des Terre-Neuviens poursuivre le phoque assidûment dans ces eaux.

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[1] Les goélettes de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, de Natashquan et de Betchewún formaient plus de la moitié de cette flotte, les autres venant des îles de la Madeleine et de la côte ouest de Terre-Neuve.

Voici maintenant comment les Acadiens nous disent avoir chassé[1] le loup-marin: au fusil et au bâton. La chasse au fusil se pratiquait tantôt en canot, tantôt à pied.

Chasse en canot

On utilisait le canot, bien entendu, lorsque le passage entre les glaces n'était pas d'accès trop difficile. Deux hommes y prenaient alors place, le tireur à l'avant, le canotier à l'arrière.

Lorsque les loups-marins n'étaient pas trop effrayés, les deux hommes pagayaient vigoureusement jusqu'à une cinquantaine de pas de la pièce de glace[2] sur laquelle reposaient les phoques. Arrivés à ce point, les deux hommes s'écrasaient autant qu'ils le pouvaient au fond de leur canot: le tireur préparait ses deux fusils, le canotier pagayait lentement jusqu'à une distance de dix à vingt-cinq pas. Le tireur n'avait parfois déclenché qu'un seul coup que les loups-marins avaient déjà plongé à l'eau. A d'autres moments, il pouvait avoir le temps de décharger les deux coups de ses deux fusils, et même de recharger une seconde fois[3]. On accostait ensuite la glace, et pendant que le tireur chargeait à nouveau ses fusils, scrutait les environs pour trouver d'autres proies sur les glaces, le canotier levait les graisses des loups-marins et les plaçait dans le canot. On continuait ainsi jusqu'à ce que le canot eût sa charge[4], qu'on transbordait ensuite dans la goélette.

Chasse au fusil, à pied

On chassait au fusil, à pied, lorsque les glaces étaient trop rapprochées pour livrer passage à un canot, ce qui n'empêchait cependant pas les loups-marins de s'échapper quand même entre les glaces. On partait alors, deux tireurs ensemble, armés chacun d'un fusil. On s'embusquait le plus possible derrière les *bouscueils*[5]; s'il ne s'en trouvait pas pour masquer la venue des chasseurs, on avançait sur les genoux, ou à plat ventre. (Le chasseur était toujours vêtu de blanc.) Lorsque les loups-marins étaient à portée de mire, chacun choisissait le sien, et l'on tirait ensemble. On levait ensuite les graisses et, si la quantité était considérable, on les empilait en petits monticules qu'on entourait de balises. Le lendemain, ou le plus tôt possible, on venait les ramasser; mais il va de soi qu'on préférait rendre à bord le profit de sa chasse le même jour; lorsque les glaces n'étaient pas trop entassées, les goélettes pouvaient suivre d'assez près les chasseurs, ce qui leur était d'un précieux secours.

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[1] *Quand on partait pour faire la pêche au loup-marin, i' y avait des fois encore bi'n des glaces et la goélette pouvait quasiment plus avancer. On sautait su' une glace tous ensemble, jusqu'à ce qu'alle casse. Pour s'encourager on chantait «La touée a mené les pourceaux» ou «Les moutons sont sur la plaine».* (Enregistrements Roy 184 et 403.)

[2] Une pièce de 20 pieds carrés peut en porter parfois une douzaine.

[3] Six coups de fusil ont déjà rapporté 13 loups-marins à un bon tireur.

[4] La charge d'un canot est d'environ une douzaine de gros loups-marins, selon qu'ils sont gras ou maigres. S'ils sont petits, on en prend une vingtaine.

[5] Amoncellement de glaces.

Quand on partait en goélette, au mois d'avril, pour faire la chasse au loup-marin, des fois qu'i' y avait encore bi'n des glaces, et la goélette pouvait quasiment p'us avancer. Dans ce temps-là, on sautait d' la goélette — une p'tite gang d'hommes — su' une glace, p'is on essayait de la casser pour clairer le ch'min pour que la goélette puisse avancer. On sautait ensemble su' la glace, jusqu'à temps qu'a' casse. Pour s'encourager, on chantait:

Les moutons sont su' la plaine,
Ô digue dondaine,

Ils se sont mis-t-à ginguer,
Ô digue dindé.

Les moutons sont su' la plaine,
Ô digue dondaine,

Ils se sont mis-t-à hurler,
Ô digue dindé.

Ils se sont mis-t-à ginguer,
Ils se sont mis-t-à sauter.

Les moutons sont su' la plaine,
Ils se sont mis-t-à crier.

Les moutons sont su' la plaine,
Ils se sont mis-t-à sauter.

Quand on criait «Bang», on donnait un bon coup et la glace fendait. On sautait t'ut suite à bord de la goélette pour pas s' noyer. On chantait aussi:

La touée a m'né hier à soèr, (bis)
Elle a mené des p'tits pourceaux,
Hi-a-hi, hi-a-hein, hi-a-ho,
Elle a mené des p'tits pourceaux,
Hi-a-ho.

La chasse au bâton

Lorsque l'agglomération des glaces était telle qu'elle laissait à peine entrevoir un filet d'eau, c'est avec un bâton que l'on chassait le phoque. Sur 100 loups-marins réunis sur une glace[1], on pouvait alors en tuer de 50 à 60 avant qu'ils aient pu se traîner à la mer. Par contre, si l'eau, qu'on n'avait pas prévue, divisait trop largement les glaces, le rendement de la chasse baissait à 10 ou 15 p. 100.

Mais lorsque les conditions étaient bonnes, dix hommes pouvaient tuer[2] de 150 à 200 loups-marins en moins de dix minutes. Après un tel carnage toutefois, ces hommes, qui avaient bâtonné les loups-marins de gauche et de droite, se jetaient ensuite à plat ventre sur les glaces, pour se reposer et pour ne pas effrayer leurs proies encore à proximité d'eux.

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[1] La glace peut avoir une surface de plusieurs centaines de pas, et même de plusieurs milles.

[2] Après avoir cerné une quantité suffisante de loups-marins, les chasseurs se lèvent et attaquent ensemble.

En 1860, l'équipage de deux goélettes bâtonna, en deux heures, sur une même pièce de glace d'environ un mille et demi de superficie, 1,270 loups-marins. En 1871, trois équipages exterminèrent 2,000 loups-marins de dix heures le matin à cinq heures le soir. En 1872, trois équipages en bâtonnèrent plus de 3,000 en cinq heures. En 1886, trois équipages en abattirent 3,200 en cinq heures; et encore, durent-ils s'interrompre parce qu'ils avaient déjà leur cargaison[1].

L'équipage d'une goélette de 30 tonneaux[2] se composait de dix hommes: le capitaine (ou «l'homme de bord»), le «couque»[3], huit chasseurs pour quatre canots. Si la goélette était plus grande, on ajoutait un canot, ce qui portait à douze les membres de l'équipage. Celles de moins de 30 tonneaux prenaient huit hommes et trois canots; les plus petites, — de 20 tonneaux et moins, — six hommes et deux canots.

A la goélette on réservait une part et demie des revenus. Le «couque» recevait alors un loup-marin sur cent, les dépenses non comprises. Après 1865, il toucha 2 p. 100, le reste de l'équipage se divisant les profits en parts égales. Le propriétaire d'une goélette embauchait parfois «de moitié» un ou deux hommes, fournis de tout ce dont ils avaient besoin (sauf le tabac): provisions, munitions et fusils; et ils ne payaient qu'une part à la goélette. Par exemple, l'équipage de quatre canots correspondait à dix parts et demie, mais l'homme qui était «de moitié» partageait dans la proportion de dix. Cette entente ne concernait que son fournisseur, sans affecter le reste de l'équipage.

8. La chasse à la baleine

On a cru à tort — même en Gaspésie — que les habitants de la rive nord du Saint-Laurent s'étaient adonnés à la chasse à la baleine. Nous avons appris sur les lieux que surtout les Gaspésiens s'étaient occupés à cette industrie. Ils n'auraient cependant pas commencé à le faire à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle, mais au début du XIX^{e}. En 1811, M^{gr} Plessis mentionne trois goélettes du bassin de Gaspé employées à cette chasse; l'une d'elles avait alors tué neuf baleineaux.

Les équipages, composés de quinze ou seize hommes, se répartissaient de la façon suivante: deux «barges», montées chacune par six hommes, comprenaient le harponneur, les quatre nageurs, le timonier et un homme que l'on débarquait là où il y avait une fonderie, c'est-à-dire soit à Mingan, à l'île Saint-Charles ou au Mécatina; nous ne pouvons prouver qu'il y en eut une à Sept-Îles à cette époque; on ne nous a mentionné que la compagnie *Steam Whaling* qui, en 1904, se fixa à cet endroit pour chasser, sur le *Falkan*, avec des bombes explosives. L'équipage, en partie norvégien, tua soixante-cinq baleines au cours de cette saison.

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[1] *Quand on arrivait, le soir, on tirait autant de coups de fusil qu'on avait de centaines de loups-marins.* (Enregistrement Roy 184.)

[2] Le tonnage variait entre 30 et 40 tonneaux.

[3] Autrefois, aux Iles de la Madeleine, on ne prenait pas de «couque» à bord; «l'homme de bord» préparait les repas en l'absence des chasseurs. C'est en 1856 que Vital Vigneau, Jean Boudreau et quelques autres commencèrent à se payer ce luxe.

«Couque»: voir «coq», page 181.

En 1884, le commandant Wakeham, à bord de la *Canadienne,* en trouva une de 10 pieds de longueur, qui était morte depuis quelque temps. Il la donna à fondre à P. Vigneau, de Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, qui en retira 1,680 gallons d'huile; les fanons, qui se vendaient alors environ $10 le quintal, pesaient 650 livres.

Entre les années 1800 et 1865, l'huile se vendait de 90 cents à $1 le gallon (mesure de vin[1]). Vers 1870, l'huile de pétrole étant devenue d'usage général pour l'éclairage des phares, une diminution importante se fit sentir dans le prix des huiles de baleine et de loup-marin. La chasse ayant, d'autre part, considérablement régressé, on l'abandonna. Le capitaine Tripp fut l'un des derniers à s'y intéresser jusqu'en 1893[2].

Par ordre d'ancienneté, voici les noms des principaux capitaines baleiniers qui ont alors chassé dans le golfe: William Harbour, Félix Doyle, William Annett, William Baker, Charles Steward, Charles Patterson, Frederic Coffin, Henry Suddard, John Ascah, Joseph Tripp, Jos. Baker.

9. La chasse aux animaux à fourrure et au gibier

La dernière année de grande chasse sur la rive nord du Saint-Laurent remonte à 1855-1856. Furent aussi considérés comme de bonnes années de chasse les hivers 1859-1860, 1872-1873, 1896-1897, 1897-1898. Les hivers 1864-1865, 1877-1878, 1882-1883, 1883-1884, 1890-1891 furent moins heureux, et les autres années, nulles.

Mais en octobre 1855, à Kegashka, les martres et les renards sortis au rivage formaient de véritables troupeaux[3], si affamés qu'ils s'entremangeaient. Cilas Boudreau raconta au père de l'un de nos informateurs qu'il avait vu, le matin, ces renards venir manger dans l'auge qui servait à nourrir ses porcs.

On rapporta aussi qu'à Natashquan, le long des rivières où les employés de la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson avaient laissé de la saumure pour saler le saumon, on trouva jusqu'à douze martres noyées dans les cuves.

A Mingan, les vieillards parlent encore de M. McKenzie qui, de la lucarne de sa maison, s'amusait à tuer les renards. Pour rendre plus passionnant son jeu, il avait suspendu un morceau de baleine à sept ou huit pieds de terre, afin d'y faire sauter ses proies.

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[1] C'est en 1882 que l'on adopta le gallon impérial.

[2] A la fin de septembre et au début d'octobre 1896, il a cependant été vu une quantité extraordinaire de grosses baleines «Funers», «Sulphur», «Hump-back») en deçà des îles de Mingan, au havre. C'était la première fois qu'on les apercevait aussi près de terre à cet endroit.

[3] Les vieillards de la région comparent (de ouï-dire) cette année de chasse à celle de 1810, lorsque les renards blancs et les renards bleus sortirent en si grand nombre qu'il en fut pris 300 à Mingan.

A cette époque, la population ne possédait pas encore — ou très peu — de pièges. On dit qu'Isidore Giasson en avait acquis huit, les tendait tous les jours et rapportait huit renards chaque matin.

De leur côté, les deux familles Rochette d'Agwanus et de Nabesipi, ainsi que la famille Tanguay de Watsheeshoo en tuèrent chacune pour une valeur de plus de $2,000 au cours de l'hiver.

C'était à l'époque (de 1854 jusque vers 1890) où les renards se vendaient environ $60 chacun. En 1890, on pouvait obtenir $70 pour un beau renard; en 1895 (de M. Kakas des États-Unis), de $100 à $120; en 1900 (de Johanne Beetz), de $250 à $300. C'est alors que la compagnie Revillon Frères, de Paris, entra en concurrence avec la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson et qu'il fut payé $700 et même $1,135 pour un seul renard. Aujourd'hui, ils se vendent $5.

Toutes les pelleteries furent d'ailleurs payées en proportion. Aussi, dans la seule paroisse de Havre-Saint-Pierre, le total des prises, au cours des vingt-cinq premières années qui suivirent sa fondation (soit de 1857 à 1882), s'établit comme il suit: 39,328 loups-marins, 222 renards, 19 loups-cerviers, 3 carcajous, 9 loutres, 18 castors, 58 martres, 99 visons et 141 rats musqués. Et voici quelle était, de cinq ans en cinq ans, la population:

Année	Familles	Âmes
1860	28	185
1865	82	415
1870	104	550
1875	140	814
1880	170	954
1885	180	975

C'est toutefois en 1919 que les prix atteignirent leur maximum: le rat musqué passa à $3; le loup-cervier, à $80; la belette, à $2 et $3. Aujourd'hui, la belette se vend 10 cents; le loup-cervier, $2; le rat musqué, 50 cents. Seuls le vison et la loutre ont été maintenus à un prix raisonnable, soit à $30 et $25 chacun.

Mais la chasse a régressé, et même les chasseurs de quarante ans — qui ont, eux aussi, connu de belles chasses — ne trouvent plus grand attrait dans la forêt. Ainsi, en 1957, un seul vison a été tué à Baie Johanne Beetz; la même année, à Romaine, seuls deux loups-cerviers ont été capturés par un chasseur qui avait couru le bois d'octobre à janvier. De chevreuils et d'orignaux, il n'est pas question, et le caribou, on le trouve loin du littoral.

Mais la diminution de la chasse était à prévoir par les observateurs d'alors. On exterminait sans compter et à n'importe quel prix, se servant de poison pour les renards, de chiens à la recherche des nids, de pioches pour briser les terriers, etc. Ce qui contribua cependant le plus gravement à l'extermination de certains gibiers, ce fut le charroyage des œufs.

10. Le charroyage des œufs

C'est à l'initiative d'un seul chasseur (que nous ne pouvons nommer) qu'il faut remonter pour parler du charroyage des œufs, qui commença en 1815. Cette dévastation s'ouvrit entre le cap Wittle et la baie de Cocoachoo, au rocher Vert. Peu à peu, l'industrie prit de l'ampleur, et l'on vit des braconniers rafler d'un seul voyage[1] huit à dix barils d'œufs d'une seule petite île. Ces œufs (de marmette[2]) étaient transportés à Halifax et vendus à l'armée ou à la marine, à raison de 50 à 60 cents la douzaine.

Entre les années 1825 et 1830, les Acadiens ayant abandonné le métier, les Néo-Écossais les remplacèrent; leur acharnement à lever les œufs devint si passionné que, pour empêcher des pêcheurs de la Nouvelle-Écosse et des États-Unis de débarquer sur la grande île des pointes Sainte-Marie, ils tirèrent un jour (en 1828) sur ces derniers, en blessant trois et en tuant un.

Jusqu'en 1860, les charroyeurs d'œufs ne furent pas gênés dans leurs opérations. Mais dès que le nombre de pêcheurs s'accrut le long de la Côte et que les plaintes des individus et des missionnaires s'attaquèrent aux braconniers, une loi de prohibition fut imposée pendant une certaine période de l'année. On raconte que vers 1864, un pauvre homme — ignorant tout des dernières lois — offrit au garde-chasse quelques œufs de la provision qu'il rapportait. Ce dernier — le commandant Fortin — l'obligea à payer l'amende. Indignée de cette injustice, la population de l'endroit rencontra le commandant pour lui reprocher de s'être attaqué à cet homme alors qu'une goélette braconnait dans les parages des pointes Sainte-Marie, détruisant les trois quarts des gibiers à elle seule. Le commandant, tenu de se rendre sur les lieux, saisit l'*Ocean Bride*, qui fut vendue à l'enchère à Gaspé.

Cette saisie éreinta le commerce des charroyeurs d'œufs, même si, jusqu'en 1872, deux petites goélettes de la Nouvelle-Écosse fréquentaient encore à cet effet Wapitagun et les pointes Sainte-Marie. En 1875 cependant, le métier était complètement abandonné, grâce à quoi fut évitée l'extinction complète de certaines espèces d'oiseaux.

Et il en fut ainsi pour tous les gibiers. Si, par exemple, une seule famille de chasseurs pouvait, vers 1864, tuer 600 lièvres en une seule saison, on raconte que, dix ans plus tard, tous les chasseurs réunis du même village n'en rapportaient qu'une douzaine.

11. La culture et l'élevage

La culture sur la rive nord du Saint-Laurent n'a jamais été et ne sera jamais prospère, le climat, le sol et la répartition des terres ne s'y prêtant pas. Telle est l'opinion de nos informateurs et même celle de certains auteurs qui ont écrit sur le sujet[1].

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[1] On se rendait alors sur les lieux dans une chaloupe d'une vingtaine de tonneaux montée par quatre ou cinq hommes.

[2] La marmette (*Uria aalge*) ne fait pas de nids, mais pond sur le galet nu. Un de nos informateurs nous a raconté, en parlant de la fécondité de ces oiseaux, que son père a déjà ramassé (en juillet 1871) plus de 2 barils d'œufs sur une surface de 30 pieds et tué 500 marmettes au bâton. *Car lorsqu'on les surprend dans les crans*, a-t-il ajouté, *elles ne peuvent s'envoler avant d'avoir couru une vingtaine de pas.*

Un peu partout le long de la Côte, on a attribué cet échec à l'exiguïté des terres, qui comptent généralement de une à deux acres chacune. A d'autres endroits, notamment à Tête-à-la-Baleine, un informateur nous disait: *Ici, le salin est resté dans la terre depuis qu'elle a été recouverte d'eau* . . .

Quoi qu'il en soit, si l'on regarde la partie orientale de la Côte, il n'est pas besoin de longues études pour conclure à la maigreur de la culture dans cette région. Car là où les villages ne sont pas construits sur le roc vif, seuls quelques jardins potagers s'étiolent ici et là. De Blanc-Sablon à Romaine inclusivement, nous n'avons cependant vu aucun de ces jardins[2]. Mentionnons ceux d'Aguanish et de Natashquan, tout en précisant qu'à ces derniers endroits, seules huit à dix familles en retirent quelque avantage. Le beau village de Havre-Saint-Pierre n'en compte pas ou presque pas; et nous pourrions en dire autant de la région de Longue-Pointe de Mingan. pourtant plus favorisée.

Quant à l'élevage, voici un tableau incomplet, mais qui déjà pourra renseigner le lecteur. Nous pouvons ajouter qu'au cours de deux étés de travail sur la Côte, nous avons pu boire un seul verre de lait, à Aguanish. Voulant en boire davantage au cours de notre dernière saison d'enquête, nous avons dû en commander à Montréal, d'où il nous arrivait par le bateau qui passait tous les quinze jours. Et il coûtait 50 cents la pinte.

Endroit	Bœuf	Chien	Cochon	Cheval	Mouton	Poule	Vache
Tête-à-la-Baleine.....	0	—	0	0	0	—	0
Natashquan..........	0	45	—	3	0	env. 125	1
Sept-Îles.............	—	250	—	—	—	—	3
Romaine............	0	—	0	0	0	0	0
Magpie..............	10	—	—	4	—	—	6
Rivière-au-Tonnerre..	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Rivière-Saint-Jean....	4	—	—	2	—	—	2
Aguanish............	—	100	0	8	—	30	8
Baie Johanne Beetz...	—	65	0	3	—	45	0
Baie-Rouge..........	—	200	—	—	—	—	0
Havre-Saint-Pierre...	0	—	0	5	0	—	0
Mingan..............	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Longue-Pointe de Mingan...........	—	—	—	—	—	—	16

Pour mieux comprendre le problème de l'élevage sur la Côte, prenons le récit d'un groupe d'informateurs de Havre-Saint-Pierre et voyons comment les choses se sont passées dans leur village.

Au cours des premières années qui suivirent l'établissement de Havre-Saint-Pierre, on possédait peu de bœufs et de chevaux, «parce que le bois était encore sous la main», précisent-ils. (C'est donc dire qu'on ne pensait aux bestiaux qu'en fonction du charroyage du bois.) En 1863, on comptait cependant cinq ou six bœufs et trois chevaux, qu'on avait transportés des îles de la Madeleine. Un seul bœuf pouvait charroyer le bois nécessaire à cinq ou six familles. Les bœufs étant d'un coût moins élevé et d'entretien plus facile que les chevaux, on en augmentait le nombre — il fallait les acheter à Québec — selon les besoins, mais avec parcimonie, à cause de la rareté du foin, que l'on devait parfois faire descendre de Québec. De 1871 à 1872, quelques autres chevaux furent transportés des îles de la Madeleine, mais deux ou trois ans plus tard, il n'en restait plus un seul.

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[1] Cf. Huard, 5, p. 411.

[2] Nous exceptons ceux de Forteau Bay (en face du détroit de Belle-Île, Terre-Neuve)—à peine enracinés dans un sable que de hautes barricades protègent contre les vents — et celui du curé de Tête-à-la-Baleine.

C'est en 1864 que quelques familles commencèrent à charroyer leur bois avec des chiens; elles en gardaient un ou deux, rarement trois. En 1890, on comptait 60 à 65 bœufs, mais en 1893 ils furent tous tués (excepté trois ou quatre) pour être remplacés par les chiens. Comme il fallait, à cette époque, s'éloigner en forêt pour rapporter le bois de chauffage, on nous explique que seuls les chiens pouvaient voyager sur une neige à peine durcie sans risque de s'enfoncer comme l'auraient fait les bœufs.

Jusqu'à cette époque, les trois quarts des familles élevaient un ou deux porcs chacune. Mais bientôt arrivèrent les chiens, qui les dévorèrent comme ils dévoraient les vaches et les poules; il fallut les tuer. Nous ne mentionnons pas les moutons, car ceux que les premiers colons ont transportés des îles de la Madeleine ont été tués trois ans plus tard. On dit que «le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle».

Après 1895, on commença à faire descendre des chevaux de Québec, et ces derniers furent appréciés pendant quelque temps. Mais on revint au règne des chiens, qui existe encore, surtout de Natashquan à Blanc-Sablon.

Les habitants de la Côte expliquent l'absence de bestiaux sur leur domaine par le manque de pâturage. Il y a quelques années encore, lorsqu'on pouvait les laisser paître à leur guise, n'importe où sur les terres communales, les difficultés prenaient moins d'importance, nous disent les uns, tandis que d'autres nous expliquent que les chiens décimaient alors les troupeaux.

Il reste que le problème actuel a surgi du manque de pâturage; lorsque les automobiles ont commencé à se faire plus nombreuses sur la Côte, les conseils municipaux[1] ont imposé une loi pour la prévention des accidents: une clôture devait entourer chaque terrain, afin que les bestiaux ne circulent pas dans la rue. Du fait, les animaux ne pouvaient ni brouter le long du «chemin du roi», ni être alimentés raisonnablement dans leur enclos.

II—LES COMMUNICATIONS

Aux différents obstacles dressés sur la route des pionniers de la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent, ajoutons le manque de communications.

Pour ne mentionner que Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, village établi en 1857, il a fallu attendre 1872 pour recevoir, de Gaspé, le premier courrier subventionné par le gouvernement[1], alors qu'à Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon cet appui n'intervint qu'en 1879. Et encore là n'était pas établi un service parfait le long de la Côte: en 1910, pas d'échange de courrier de l'été avec Gaspé; en 1917, le courrier arrivait trois fois par mois, et en 1918, il subissait un retard de deux mois. Dans l'entre-temps, notamment en 1900, on était soumis à des régimes d'austérité privant parfois la population, durant des mois, de toute matière postale autre que les lettres et les journaux.

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[1] Il n'en existe cependant pas en bas de Natashquan.

Ce n'est qu'en octobre 1889, trente-deux ans après son établissement, que Pointe-aux-Esquimaux reçut de Québec sa première dépêche télégraphique. Cet événement précédait de trois ans le premier scrutin organisé pour le choix d'un député fédéral.

Pendant que se créaient ainsi des communications avec l'extérieur, la situation s'améliorait peu à peu sur place. En est une preuve la fabrication du premier corbillard (on s'est servi d'une charrette pour le confectionner) en 1899. Mais il fallut attendre jusqu'en 1906 pour voir apparaître les deux premières voitures à quatre roues. Celles-ci précédèrent de six ans les moteurs dans les barques de pêche, et du même nombre d'années l'apparition des bicyclettes.

Aujourd'hui le progrès s'est fait davantage sentir, sans que l'on puisse toutefois (sinon de Mingan à Sheldrake) communiquer d'un village à l'autre par téléphone, ni s'éclairer à l'électricité (surtout de Natashquan à Blanc-Sablon), ni voyager par terre jusqu'à Blanc-Sablon, si ce n'est en cométique[2], l'hiver. Les seules routes carrossables (sur un parcours de plus de 500 milles) couvrent la distance séparant Sheldrake de Mingan (environ 45 milles), Aguanish de Natashquan (14 milles), Bradore de l'Anse-au-Loup, Labrador terre-neuvien (30 milles). On trouvera dans les autres villages de vagues voies tracées pour la circulation, mais sans communication avec l'extérieur, ce qui n'empêche pas les autochtones de se procurer des voitures de promenade, des camions et camionnettes; on en compte une centaine à Havre-Saint-Pierre, qui ne possède qu'une route d'une dizaine de milles tracée en 1939 en direction de Mingan; onze milles demandent encore à être ouverts pour relier ces deux villages.

Il reste que la grande amélioration des temps modernes date des environs de 1942, alors qu'un service d'avions commença à desservir les différents postes de la Côte. Il est vrai qu'en 1957 le brouillard nous a déjà fait attendre un avion durant dix jours, ce qui valait tout de même mieux que d'effectuer un trajet de 115 milles sur le pont d'une petite barque (celle du facteur) battue par la pluie et la mer, ou que de payer 40 dollars à un pêcheur pour franchir 15 milles en mer[3].

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[1] Avant ce temps, on payait un dollar à la Compagnie de la Baie-d'Hudson pour l'expédition d'une lettre.

[2] Ce mot, d'origine apparemment esquimaude, désigne un traîneau tiré par des chiens. L'équipe, variant de cinq à sept, parcourt fort bien 70 milles par jour.

[3] Ces expériences nous avaient un peu contrariée, à cause surtout de l'équipement technique que nous transportions.

Malgré ses chemins tantôt raboteux, tantôt tracés dans un sable où l'on enfonce à mi-jambes, ses côtes de galets nus, son cruel isolement, ce coin austère du Canada a tout de même ménagé et ménage encore à ses habitants des plaisirs inconnus de ceux qui se carrossent confortablement dans leur cité. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple, rappelons l'aventure (encore fraîche à la mémoire) des sept gais lurons de Lourdes de Blanc-Sablon se rendant à Natashquan; la petite barque à voiles de ces derniers, en route pour les «chantiers»[1] de l'île d'Anticosti, ne pouvait tanguer à plus heureuse allure. Tout le long de leur parcours, ces bûcherons débarquaient dans chaque village, faisant tourner dans leurs bras vigoureux les belles filles, entraînées non seulement par les plus beaux airs de danse, mais grisées par cette aventure imprévue qui devait nourrir leurs souvenirs pendant longtemps.

RÉSUMÉ

The purpose of this publication is to describe briefly why the Acadians settled on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River; what influences affected them; and how, as a consequence, the environment contributed its local colour to the folklore of that region. In short, it is an introduction to the various folklore studies which will be successively published.

In this preliminary work, the author, in describing the situation through a knowledge of the people and the oral tradition, does not follow the discipline of the historian or economist, but only that of the folklorist.

Though there is much valuable information in unpublished written sources of reference, this present study will enlighten the reader on the possibilities of documenting works in progress or of undertaking investigations in a field not yet reviewed. Not only will this report rescue from oblivion some century-old data that would otherwise be lost, but it will also be a reliable instrument for anyone wishing to study the present population in the light of the past.

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[1] *Chantier, s.m.:*

1° *Exploitation forestière (action d'exploiter une forêt; lieu où l'on exploite le bois d'une forêt). Ex.: Chemin de chantier = chemin d'exploitation. — Faire chantier = exploiter une forêt, ou travailler à une exploitation forestière. — Homme de chantier = bûcheron.*

2° *Quartier général des hommes qui travaillent à une exploitation forestière.* (Glossaire du Parler français au Canada, 4, p. 188.)

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ORIGIN OF COPPER USED BY CANADIAN WEST COAST INDIANS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF ORNAMENTAL PLAQUES[†]

By A. Couture[*] and J. O. Edwards[**]

RÉSUMÉ

Le but de cette étude était de déterminer si des objets en cuivre tirés de la collection du Musée national du Canada et qui étaient anciennement utilisés par les indigènes vivant sur le littoral canadien du Pacifique, ont été fabriqués par ces derniers à partir de morceaux de cuivre natif ou de plaques de cuivre façonnées par des Blancs. Le fini qu'on retrouve sur de larges portions de ces plaques et l'uniformité de leur épaisseur en dépit de leurs dimensions appréciables amenèrent les auteurs à conclure à l'emploi de machines lourdes pour façonner le métal de base. Leur microstructure contient des particules d'oxyde de cuivre dont la répartition est analogue à celle que l'on rencontre dans des feuilles de cuivre affiné (traces d'oxygène) obtenues par fusion, coulée et laminage. Les auteurs ont été incapables, sans fusion préalable du métal, de reproduire cette structure même à l'aide des essais de forgeage relativement élaborés qu'ils ont fait subir à des échantillons de cuivre natif ou O.F.H.C. Il est toutefois possible d'en arriver à une telle répartition des particules d'oxyde de cuivre par fusion de morceaux de cuivre natif sous certaines conditions et par forgeage subséquent, mais, selon l'opinion générale, les indigènes de l'Amérique du Nord ignoraient les procédés de fusion du cuivre. Les auteurs en concluent que les objets examinés ne furent pas produits directement à partir de morceaux de cuivre natif, mais furent plutôt prélevés sur des feuilles ou plaques de cuivre affiné façonnées par des Européens ou des Blancs de l'Amérique du Nord qui avaient les machines lourdes nécessaires à leur production.

INTRODUCTION[‡]

The study reported here was carried out for the National Museum of Canada by the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys in response to a specific inquiry: which items in a sample of Northwest Coast "coppers" were manufactured from native copper, and which were manufactured from copper of European origin?

The nine "coppers" selected were catalogued as Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Haida. Our collection, from which they were chosen, includes five Bella Coola, nineteen Kwakiutl, eight Tsimshian, and thirty-three Haida

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[†] Published by permission of the Director, Mines Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, Canada (Mines Br. Investigation Report IR 62-34).

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[‡] Introduction by T. F. S. McFeat, Chief Ethnologist, National Museum of Canada, Human History Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, Canada.

"coppers." Selection would ideally have been made on the basis of subarea, date of manufacture, and form. Of these categories only the last provided reliable differential value. Among the artifacts that circulated freely in Northwest Coast potlatches, the "coppers" were outstanding; therefore, without documentation it was difficult and sometimes impossible to be certain of their exact provenience. Similarly, their circulation has tended to obscure their true age; and like most early ethnological specimens, they were collected without regard to the importance of actual age. Since form lent itself to direct observation, we were provided through the inspection of the artifacts with a fair measure of certainty as to their actual subarea of origin and to that extent were able to confirm the catalogue notation. On this basis we also distinguished between more or less technical competence, thus taking the position that the more competent were, as a whole, the more recent and the cruder contained among them the older. We then expected that if there were differences in the origin of copper reflected in the sample, the cruder should be of native origin.

As the study indicates, none were of native copper so that the result was disappointing though interesting in its own right. Nevertheless, it has proved of great value in one important respect: it has shown that through the complexities of the full analysis reported here, we have been given a simple and reliable operation, within the restriction of the questions asked, for determining the origin of the material from which the remainder of our collection of "coppers" were manufactured.

Mr. Tom Hazard, of Peace Dale, Rhode Island, who first interested us in this problem, was primarily interested in the Kwakiutl specimens; this accounts for the predominance of those specimens in the sample. We shall proceed with the analysis of the remainder in due course, however, as part of a general inquiry into the origin of Northwest Coast "coppers." It will prove interesting indeed should it be found that no "coppers" are of native origin, for the antiquity of the "copper" complex still remains an open question.

MATERIALS

Nine specimens were selected from the collection of the National Museum of Canada as representative of the plaques used by the Indians of the Canadian Pacific Coast; the source and year of collection are given in Table 1. The first six specimens were selected as being representative of different types of plaques from the large number in the Museum's collection, and these were thoroughly examined. The last three specimens were deliberately chosen from different areas of origin, and only general examination was necessary to confirm the conclusions derived from the first group of specimens.

Also studied for comparison purposes were a small triangular piece supplied by the Strathaven Indian Museum of Anten Mills, Ontario, and a lump of native copper from the Yukon, obtained from the Geological Survey of Canada Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa.

TABLE 1. *Sources and recovery dates of plaques studied*

Specimen Identification	Source	Recovery Date
VII–D–406	Bella Coola, B.C.	1923
VII–E–425	Alert Bay, B.C.	1922
VII–E–430	Alert Bay, B.C.	1922
VII–E–436	Alert Bay, B.C.	1922
VII–E–438	Alert Bay, B.C.	1922
VII–E–603	Alert Bay, B.C.	1922
VII–B–274	Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.	1895–1901
VII–C–362	Metlakatla, B.C.	1911
VII–E–345	Blunden Harbour, Vancouver Island, B.C.	1885

The following account is a condensation of a more detailed report (1) covering the examination of these materials:

EXAMINATION

Visual Examination

The "coppers" in the collection of the National Museum range in condition from those that are so severely damaged or corroded that they hardly hold together, to others in an excellent state of preservation. Most of the specimens are coated with resin or other substances, a condition which made detailed examination of the surface difficult.

The plaques are in a large variety of sizes, their length varying from approximately 1½ inches to 4 feet, their width from 1 to 20 inches, and their thickness from less than one-thirty-second to over three-sixteenths inch. Most of them, however, have a characteristic shape, of which specimen VII-D-406 (Figure 1) is representative. Several plaques, especially the larger ones, had been cut before their discovery, but their remaining sections strongly suggest that their original shape was as represented in Figure 1. Examples are specimens VII-E-430 (Figure 3) and VII-E-436 (Figure 4). Examination of the edges of incomplete plaques, particularly the thicker ones, suggests that the missing portions had been cut out with a sharp tool like a chisel.

Parts of some of the larger shields have a very smooth and even surface, whereas other portions of the same specimens have been damaged by fire and, in some cases, by indentation.

Some of the "coppers" examined were made of more than one piece, held together by means of solder or rivets; specimens VII-E-438 (Figure 5) and VII-E-603 (Figure 6) are representative of this group. The heads of the rivets are round, regular, and smooth, where not damaged by corrosion. Other specimens show a layer of solder on one or more of their sides

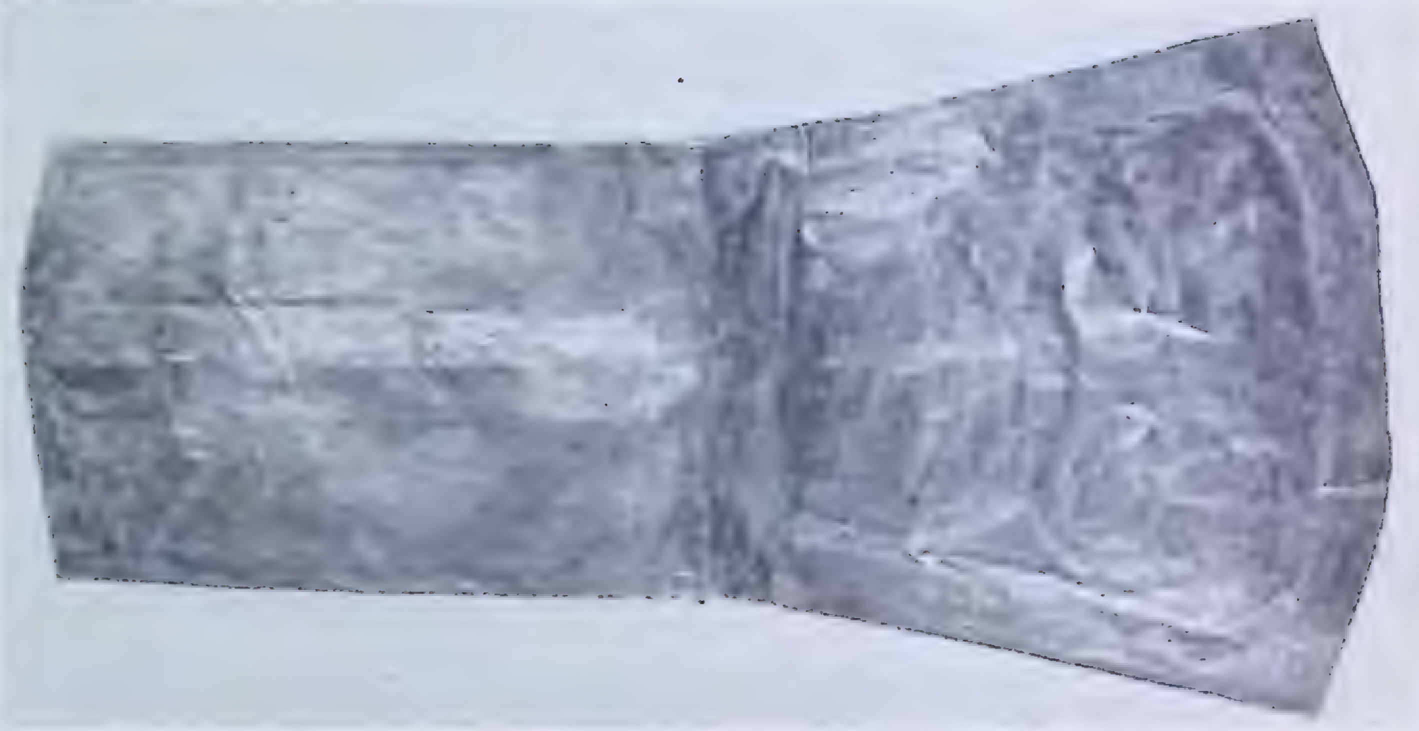

FIGURE 1. Specimen VII-D-406. Size: 24½ in. by 13½ in. Thickness: 0.017 in. to 0.025 in. Weight: 1 lb. 12 oz.

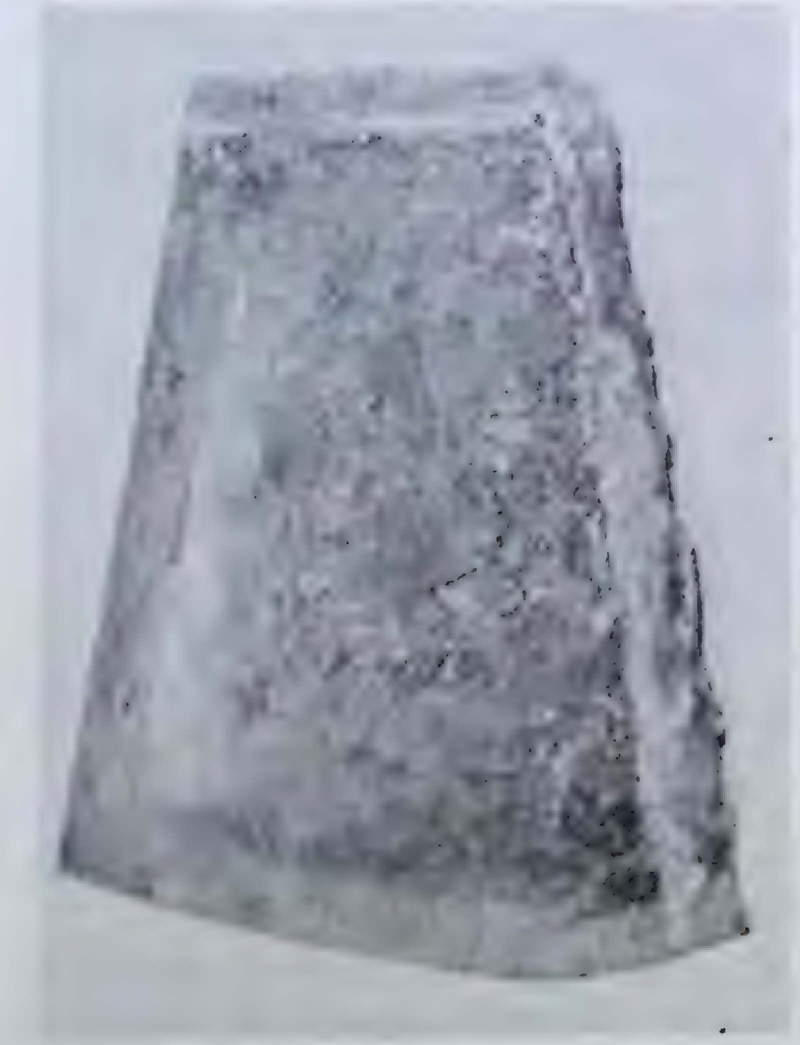

FIGURE 2. Specimen VII-E-425. Size: 10½ in. by 8¼ in. Thickness: 0.037 in. to 0.048 in. Weight: 13 oz. (Soldered joint).

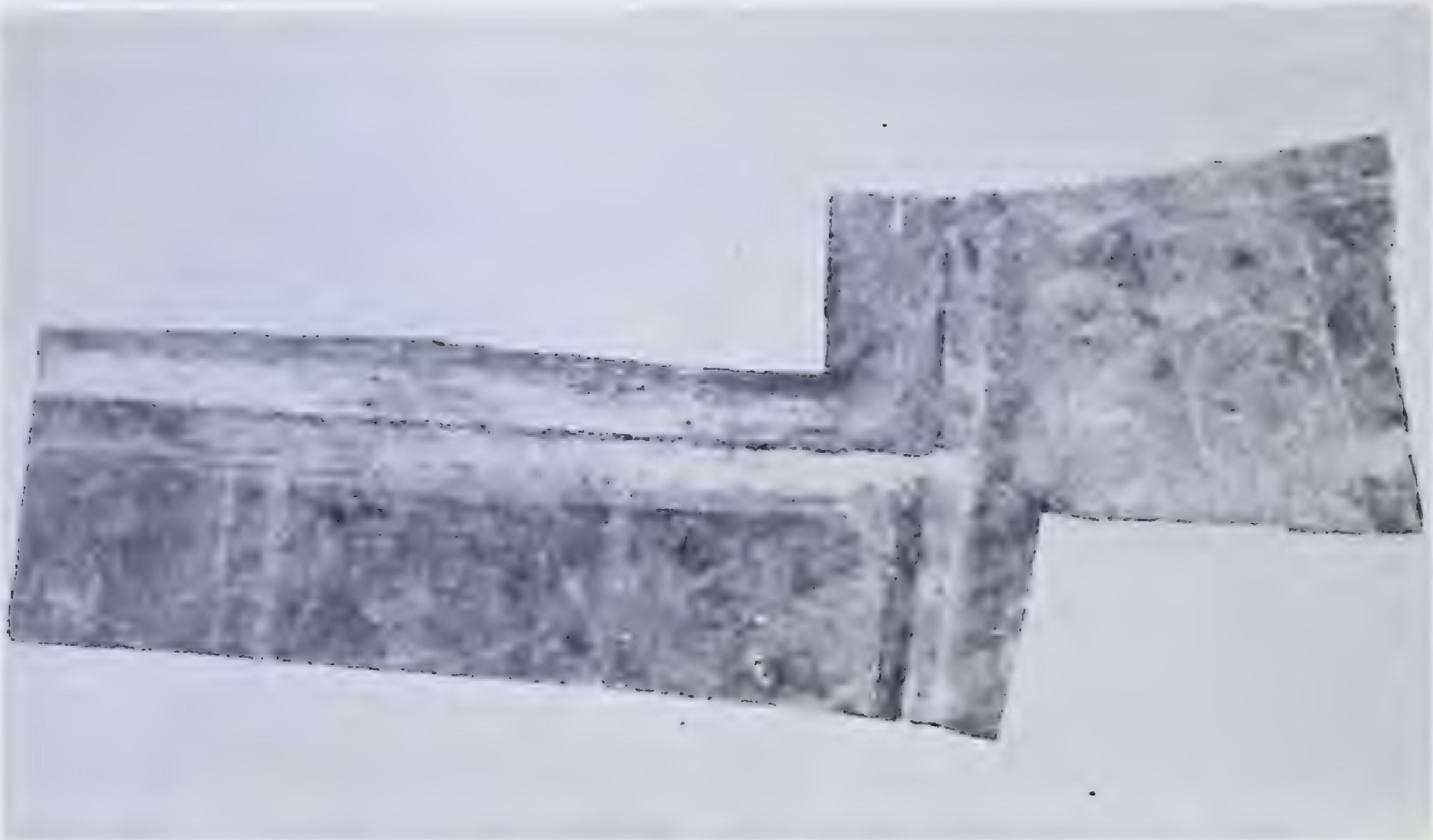

Figure 3. Specimen VII-E-430. Size: 21 in. by 10¼ in. Thickness: 0.063 in. to 0.068 in. Weight: 2 lb. 11 oz.

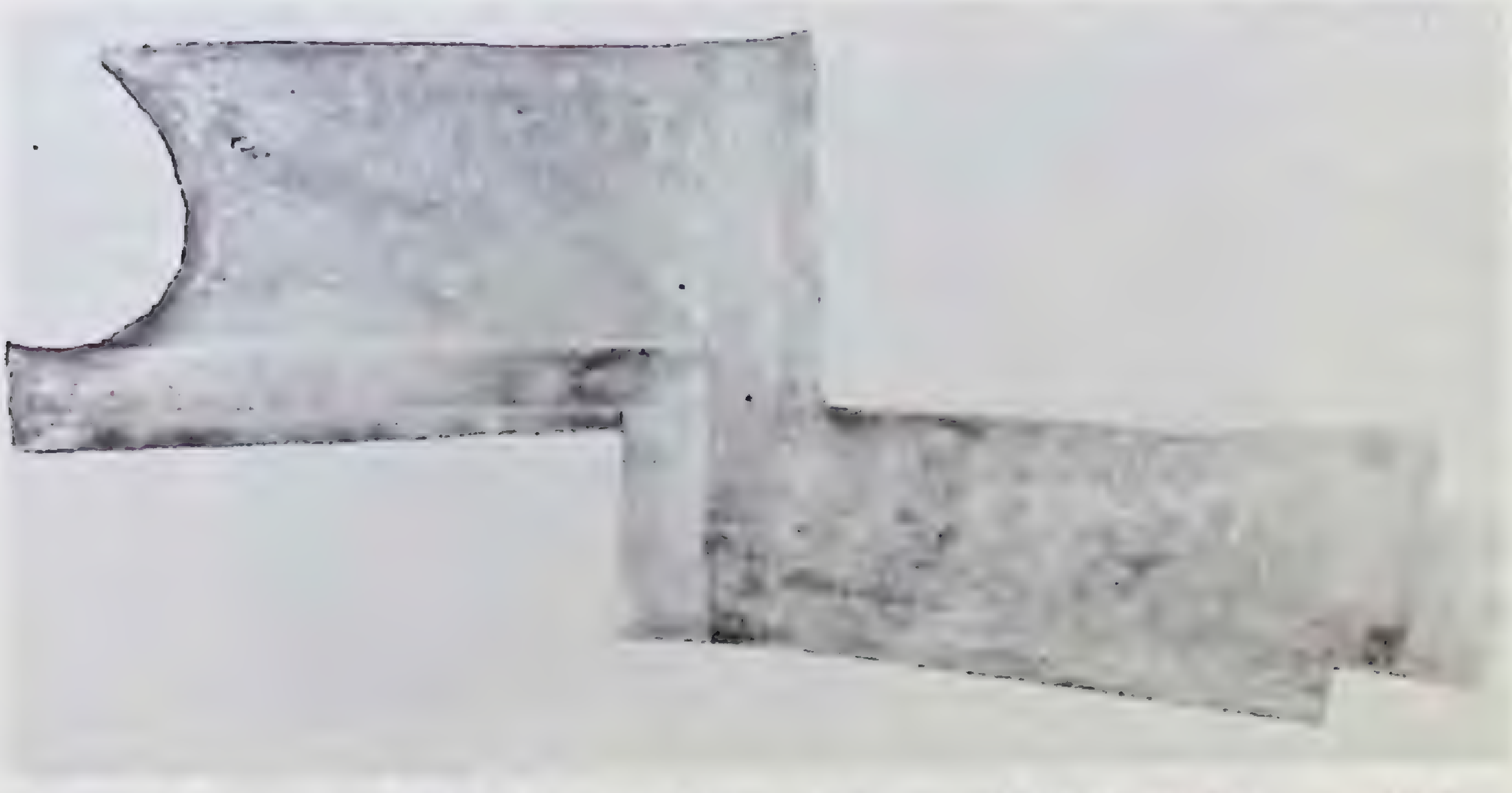

Figure 4. Specimen VII-E-436. Size: 47 in. by 20 in. Thickness: 0.174 in. to 0.207 in. Weight: 29 lb. 4 oz.

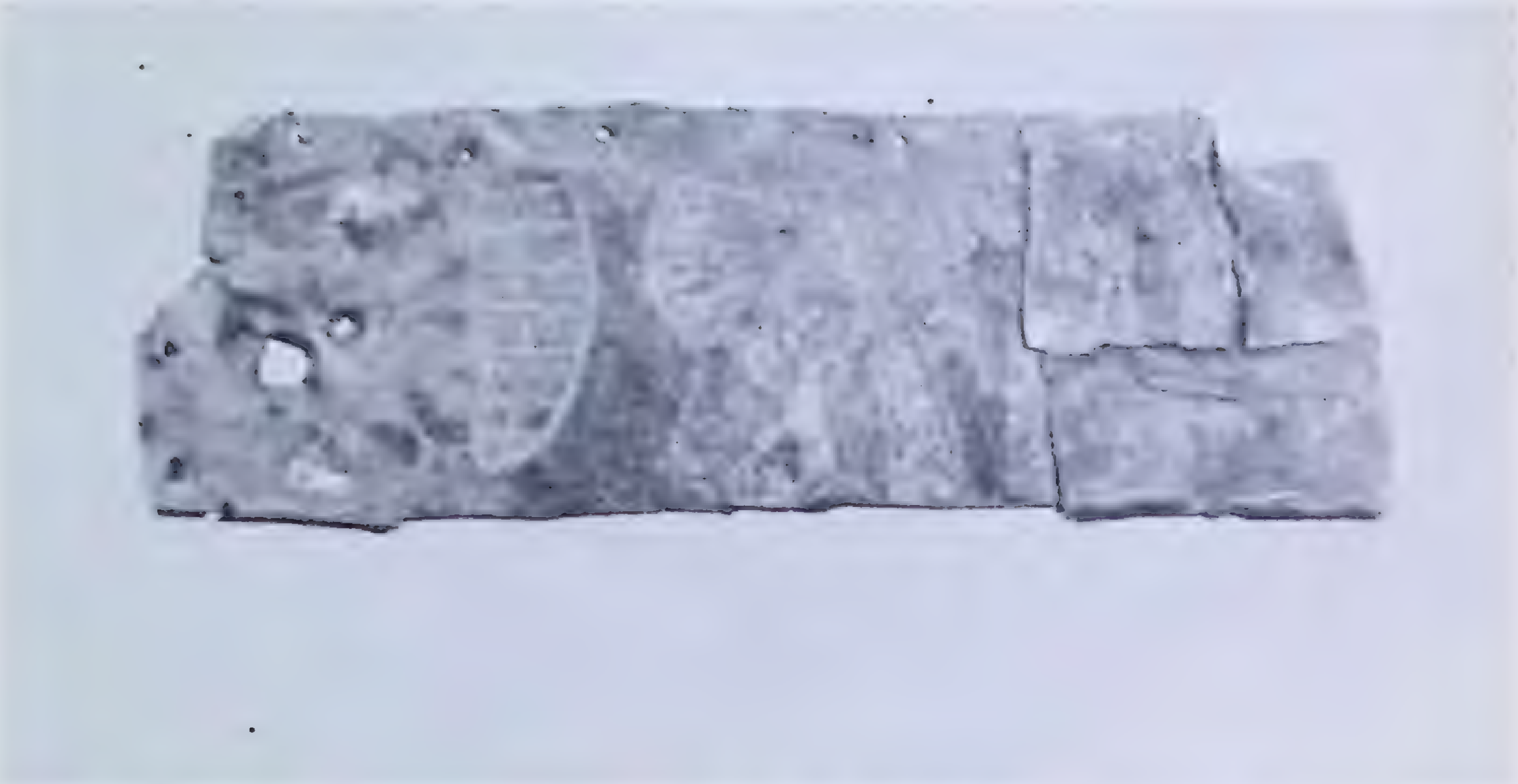

Figure 5. Specimen VII-E-438. Size 12¼ in. by 4½ in. Thickness: Not measured. Weight: 12 oz. (Soldered and rivetted joints).

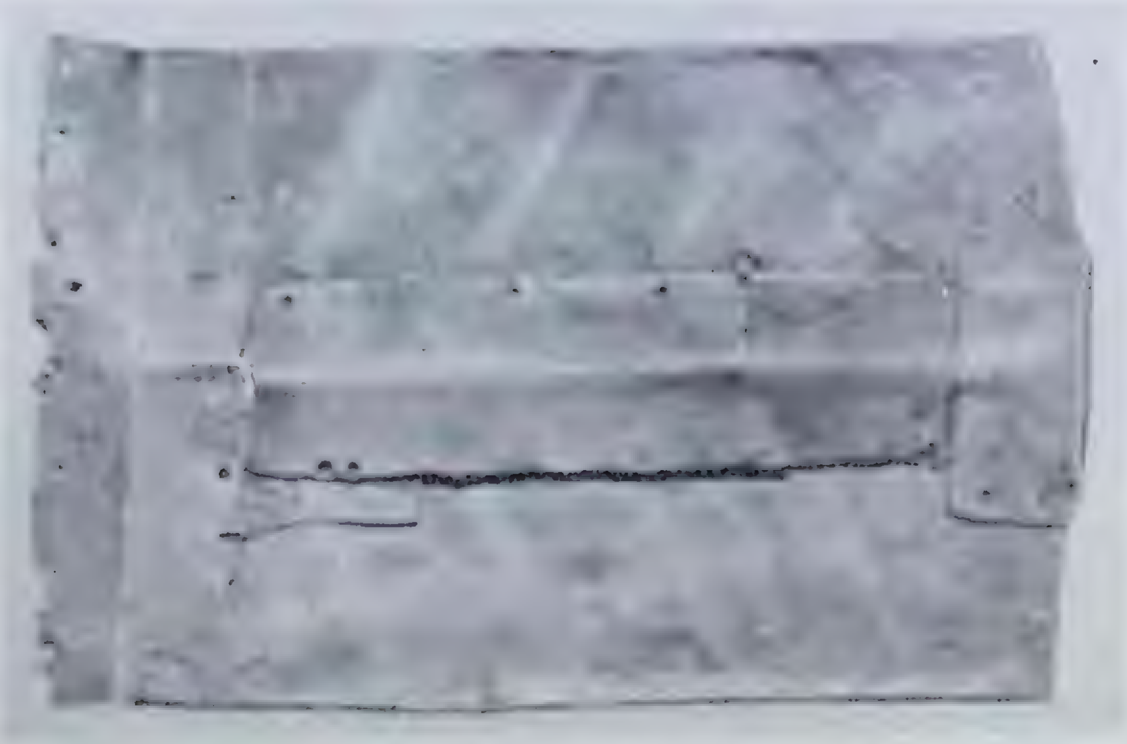

Figure 6. Specimen VII-E-603. Size: 12¼ in. by 8 in. Thickness of top panel: 0.024 in. to 0.025 in. Weight: 1 lb. 10 oz. (Soldered and rivetted joints).

(Figure 2) indicating that they had been joined to other pieces. At the outset, it was considered that the small plaques, or those made by joining small pieces, were more likely to be native copper than the larger ones because of the greater simplicity of fabricating smaller parts with hand tools.

Thickness Measurements

The thickness of the "coppers" shown in the captions of Figures 1 to 6 was determined, where the surface was not too rough, with a quarter-inch ball-end micrometer within five-eighths inch from the edge. From ten to forty determinations were made on each specimen with the exception of specimen VII-E-438, which was too severely corroded for the measurements to be of any value.

It will be seen that, in spite of unavoidable variations in thickness determinations due to severe corrosion, to the presence of resin coatings, surface deformation, etc., thickness results vary within relatively close limits. This is all the more remarkable when the large size of some of the shields is considered.

Metallographic Examination

Metallographic specimens were cut from the "coppers" submitted for examination and from the two other comparison pieces. Solder specimens were also taken where present.

(1) *Copper specimens*

For comparison purposes, the microstructures of the known and probable native coppers are included. In the "as-polished" condition, the Yukon native copper was shown to consist of metallic copper, together with cuprous oxide and a rocky gangue material (Figure 7). However, large areas of this nugget were entirely metallic and, on etching, show a clean, homogeneous, fully recrystallized microstructure free of oxide particles (Figure 8). The grain size varies appreciably from one area to another (0.015 mm to 1.8 mm). Though in most cases the grain boundaries are well defined, some grains show evidence of grain boundary migration in that the grain boundaries are bent and "shaded," a phenomenon which has been noticed by other investigators in the microstructure of native copper. A few grains also show annealing twins (straight and often parallel lines across a grain); this indicates that the specimen was annealed after being strained or was strained at an elevated temperature. Since this phenomenon is dependent on both time and temperature, it should be remembered that in this case the time factor is that of geological age, and hence is very long indeed when compared with technological processes. Thus, grain boundary migration, annealing twins, etc., may occur at relatively low temperatures in consideration of this very large time factor.

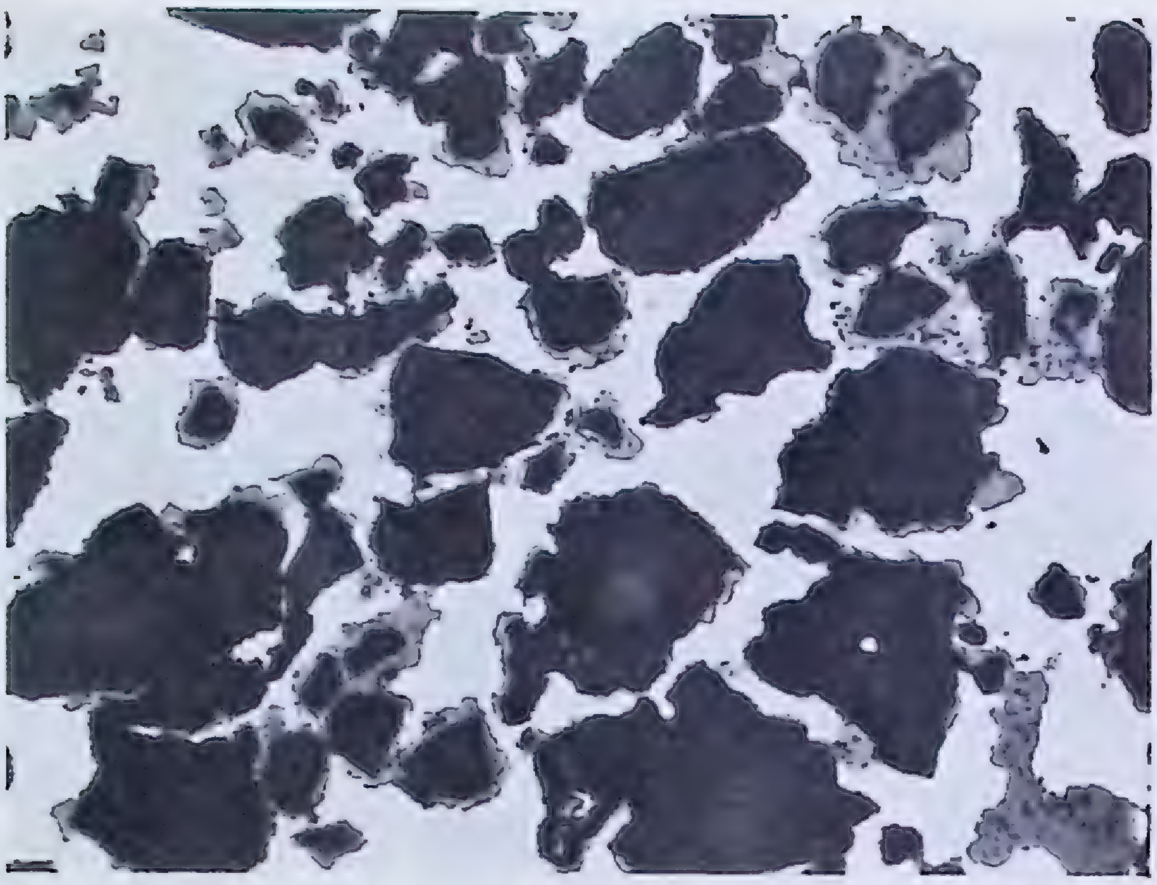

FIGURE 7. Native copper specimen, gangue area. As-polished. The white areas (copper) are surrounded by a grey (light blue under the microscope) layer, probably cuprous oxide. The metallic network contains a rocky substance (dark areas). X250.

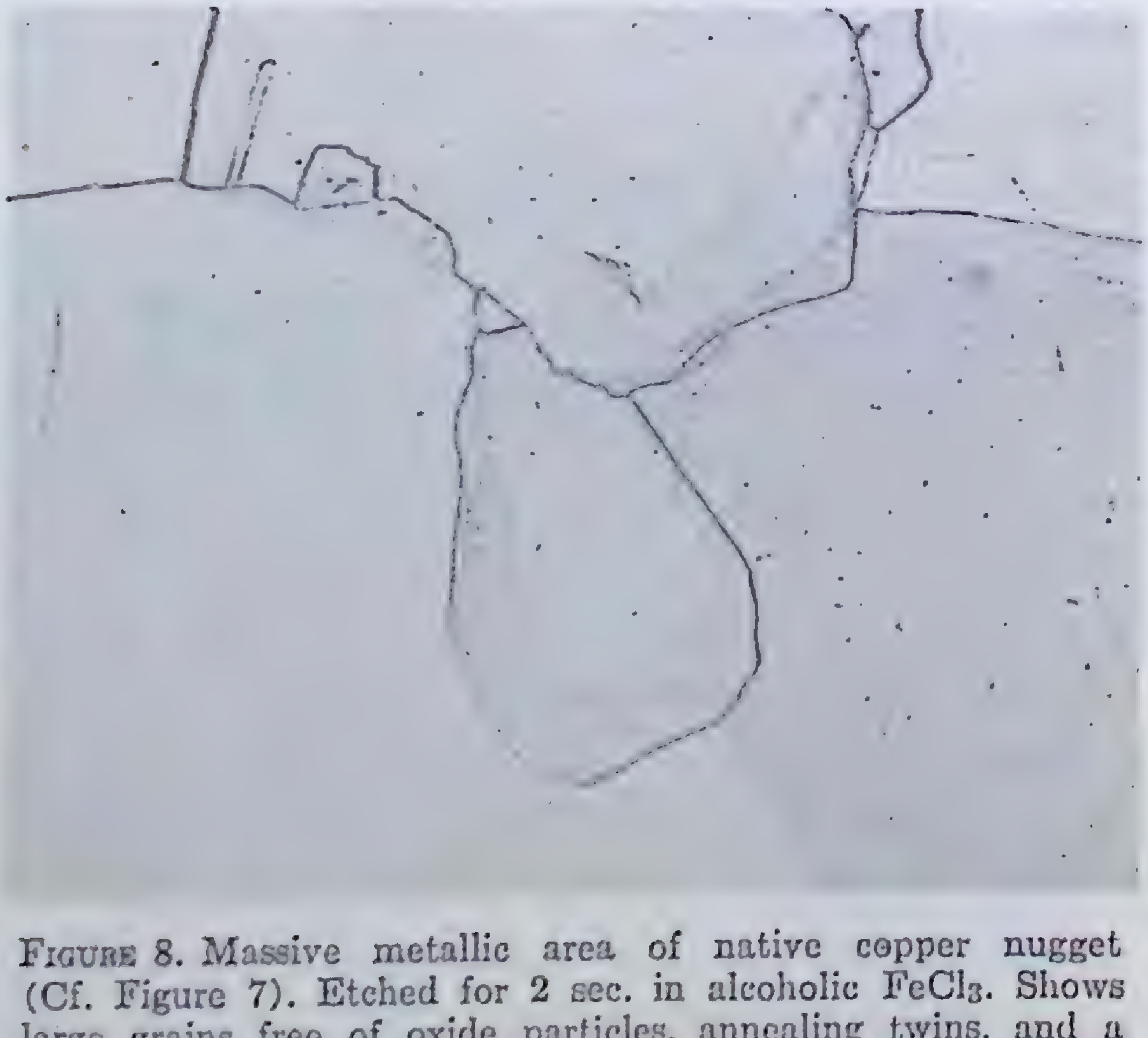

FIGURE 8. Massive metallic area of native copper nugget (Cf. Figure 7). Etched for 2 sec. in alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Shows large grains free of oxide particles, annealing twins, and a "shaded" grain boundary, indicative of grain boundary migration at relatively low temperatures. X250.

The specimen from the Strathaven Indian Museum has a very similar microstructure. Some copper oxide or similar material is seen on the corroded surface of the specimen, but the main body is completely free of oxide inclusions and has a fully recrystallized microstructure with numerous annealing twins which have originated during annealing of the previously strained specimen, or during straining at an elevated temperature (Figure 9). The fact that grain boundaries are sharp and straight suggests that recrystallization took place at a higher temperature than in the previously described native copper nugget. The microstructures of both these materials are typical of native copper, the absence of oxide particles being characteristic.

All the "copper" specimens supplied by the National Museum of Canada have basically the same microstructures, and these are radically different from those described above. In the "as-polished" condition, they all show abundant cuprous oxide particles of various size, orientation, and distribution, Figures 10 and 12 being representative of the group. On etching, all specimens show a fully recrystallized microstructure (Figures 11 and 13) with grain sizes which vary from specimen to specimen and are, in general, considerably smaller than in the native copper specimens (Table 2). It is also seen that the copper oxide particles have been removed by the etching solution, leaving a stained or pitted area in their place. The above structures are typical of rolled tough-pitch copper, used, for example, for electrical purposes now, and in the past for domestic utensils, tanks, hull plate on wooden ships, etc.

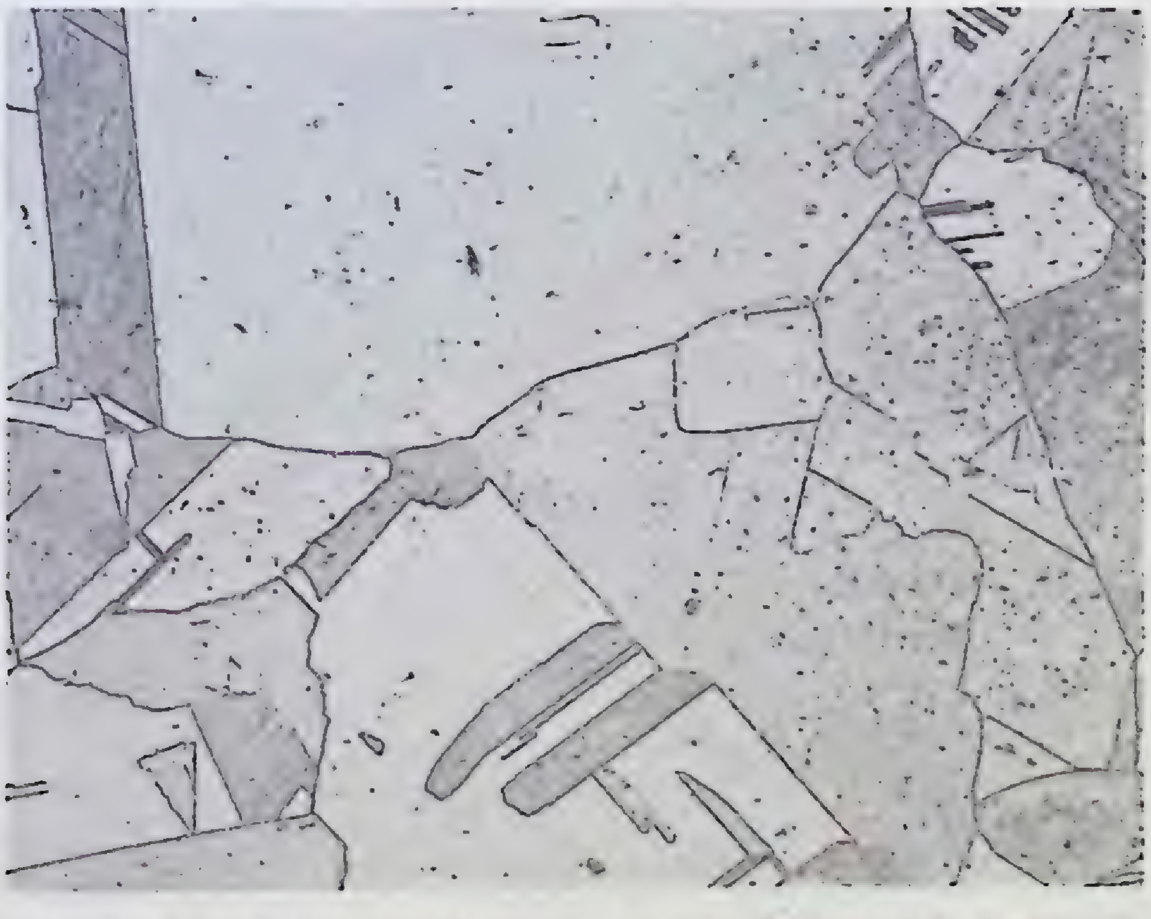

FIGURE 9. Strathaven Museum copper. Etched for 2 sec. in alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Recrystallized microstructure showing numerous annealing twins and total absence of oxide particles. Grain size varies from 0.05 to 0.12 mm. X250.

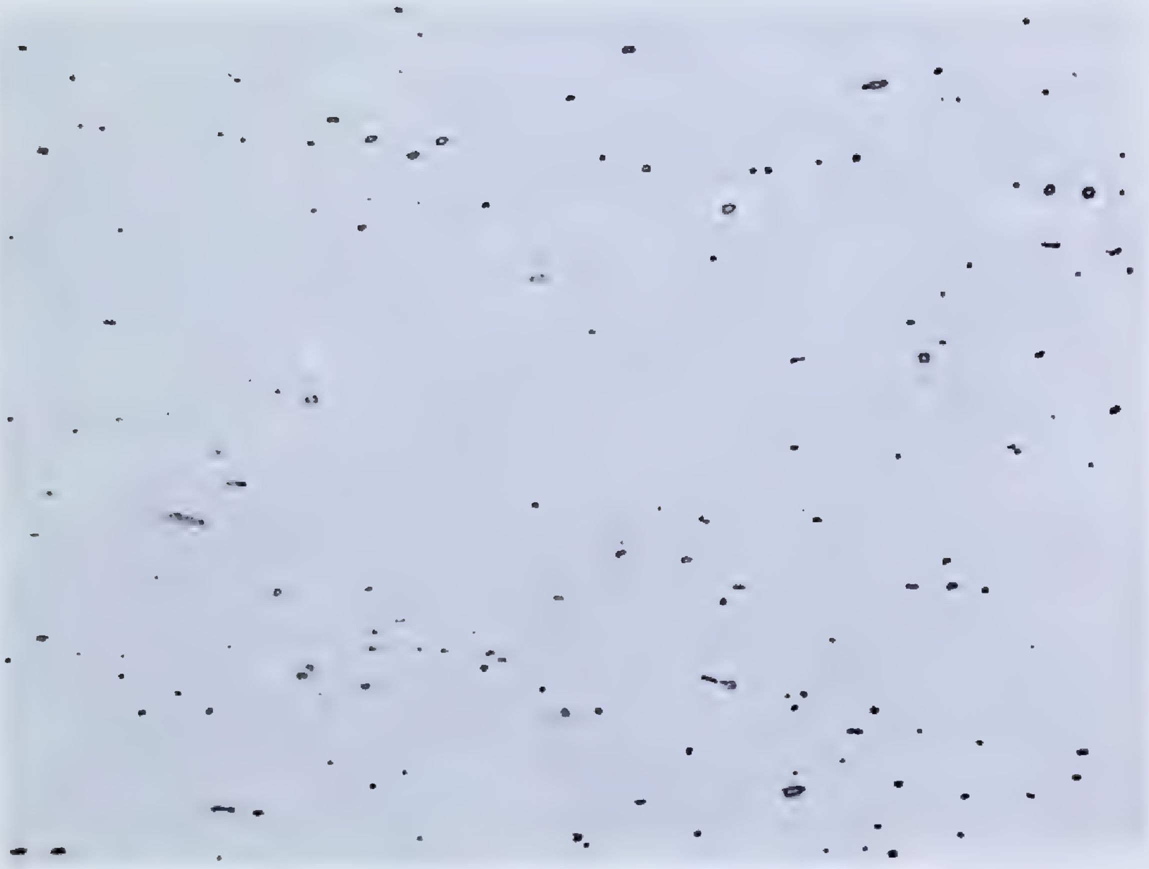

Figure 10. Specimen VII-D-406. As-polished. Small cuprous oxide particles randomly distributed in the copper matrix. X250.

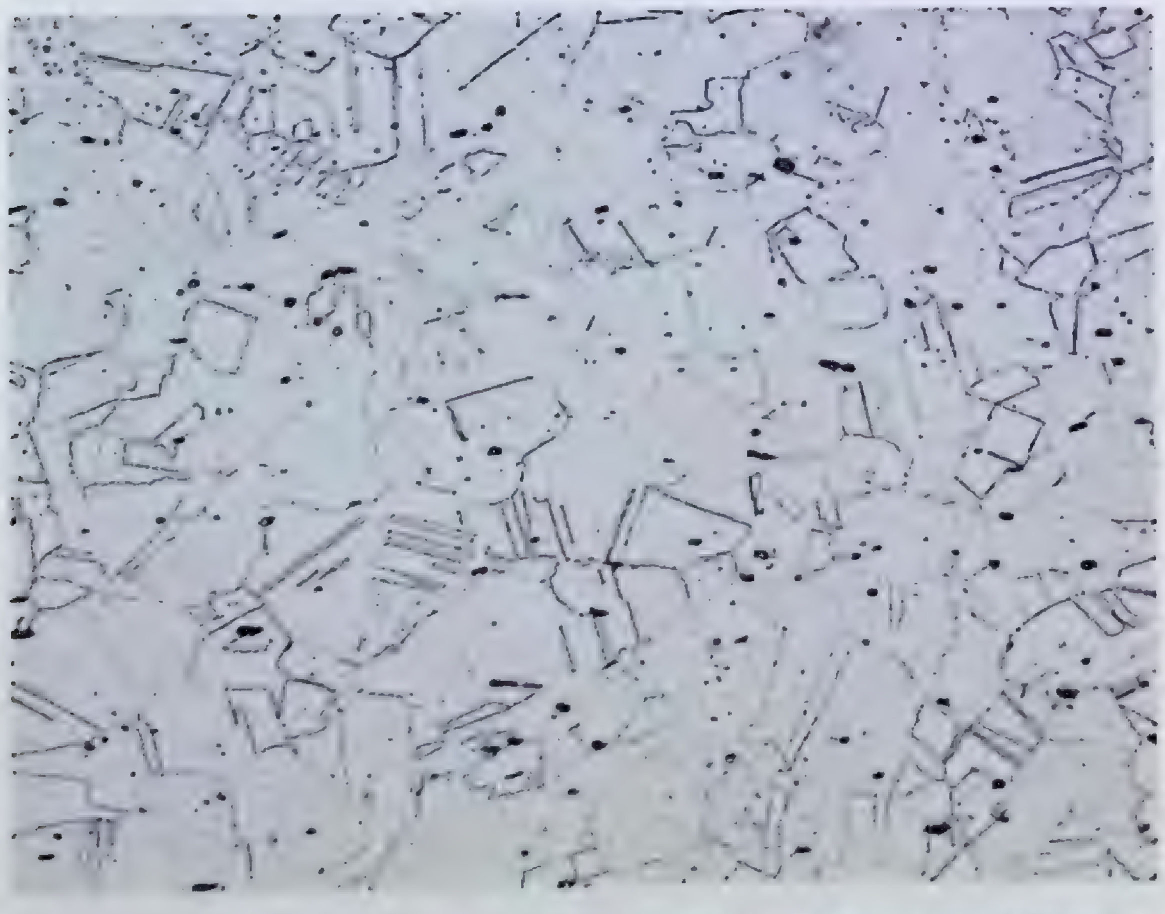

Figure 11. Same specimen as in Figure 10. Etched in alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Recrystallized microstructure showing annealing twins. Grain size is 0.035 mm. Oxide particles etched out to leave black spots and stains. X250.

TABLE 2. *Grain size and hardness results*

Specimen Identification	Grain Size, (Av. Grain Diam.) mm	Hardness		Equivalent Temper Condition in ASTM: B152-55
		Measured DPH Number	Converted to Rockwell "F" Scale*	
Native copper (Geological Survey)	0.200	56	59	Soft anneal Light cold-rolled
C54-5193 (Strathaven Museum)	0.050-0.120	51	53	Soft anneal Light cold-rolled
VII-D-406	0.035	82	80	Light cold-rolled Half hard
VII-E-425	0.050	83	81	Light cold-rolled Half hard
VII-E-430	0.025	97	88	Half hard Hard
VII-E-436	0.025	88	83	Half hard
VII-E-438	0.050	96	87	Half hard Hard
VII-E-603	0.025	104	91	Hard Spring

*The weakness of converting hardness results from one scale to another is well known. However, the converted values can be used to estimate the equivalent temper conditions of the specimens.

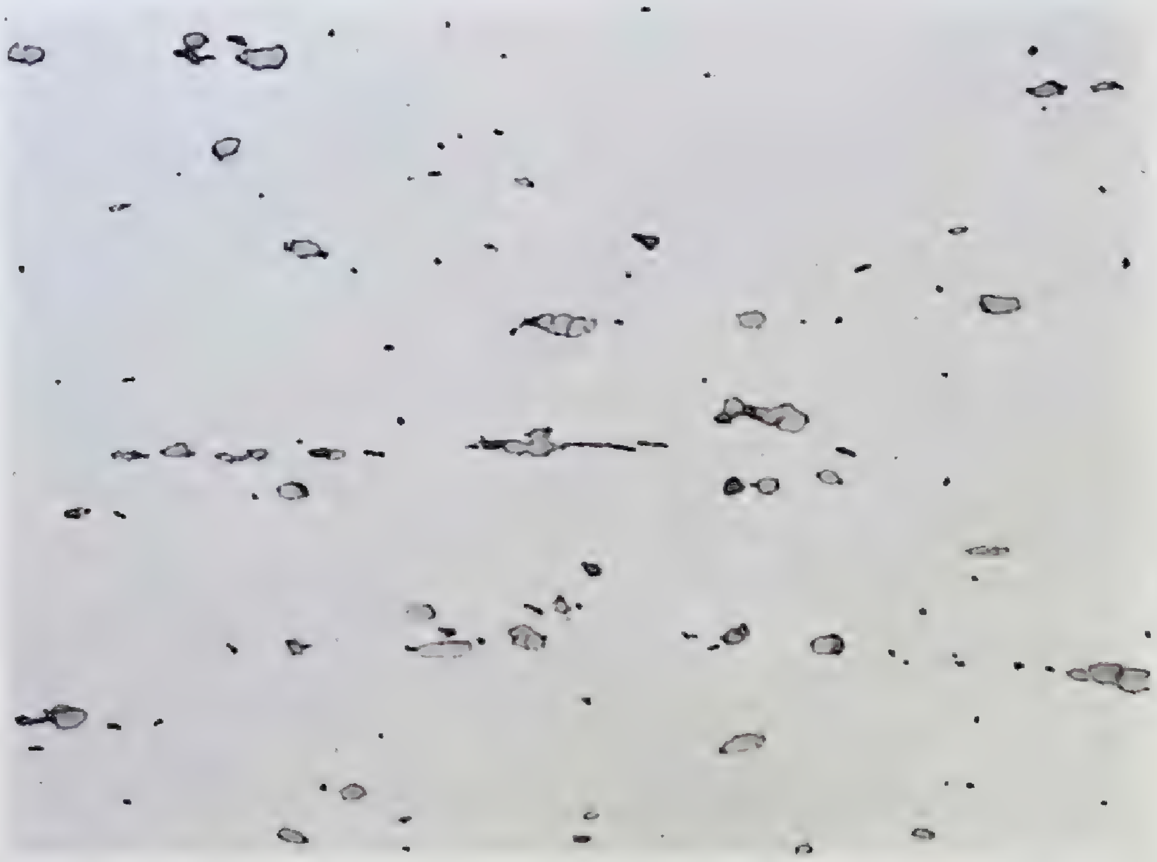

FIGURE 12. Specimen VII-E-430. As-polished. Large elongated and occasionally lined-up cuprous oxide particles in the copper matrix. Numerous voids in microstructure. X250.

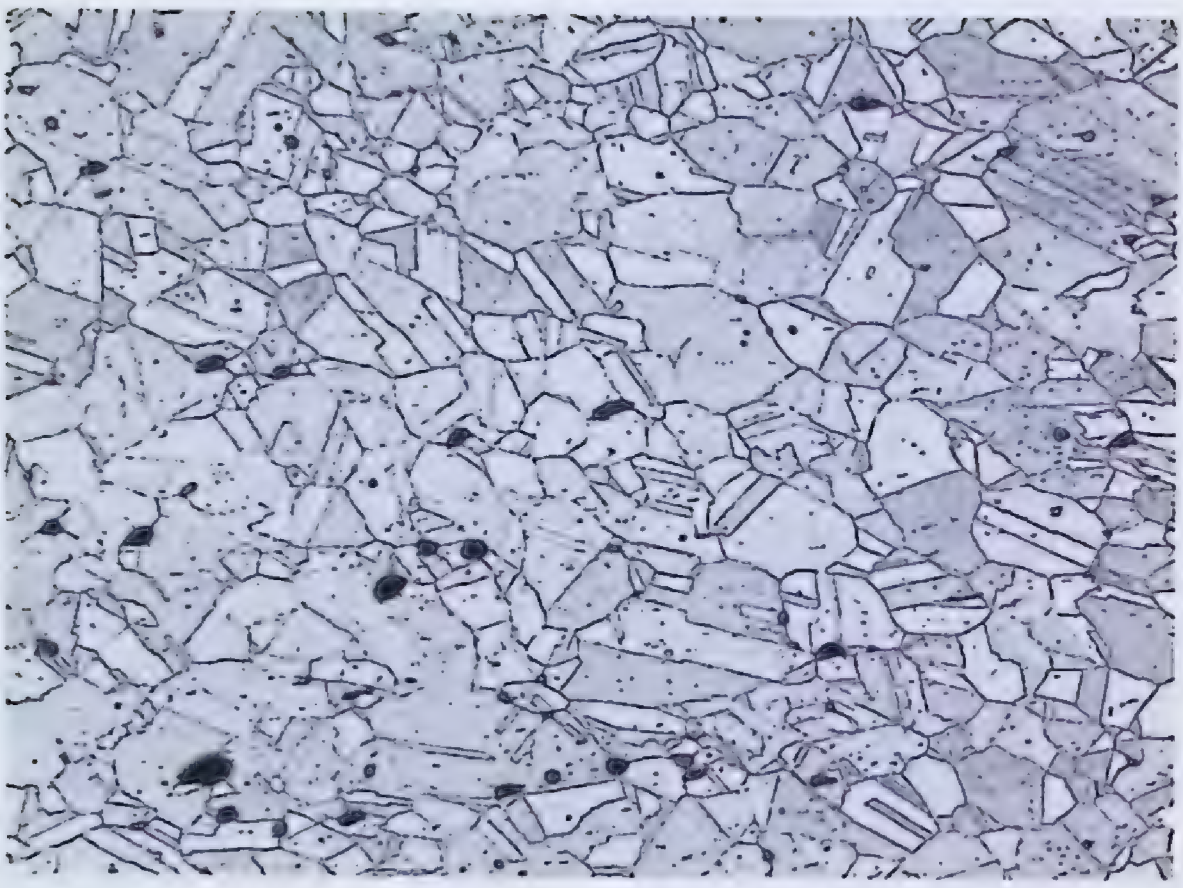

Figure 13. Same specimen as in Figure 12. Etched in alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Recrystallized microstructure with annealing twins. Grain size is 0.025 mm. X250.

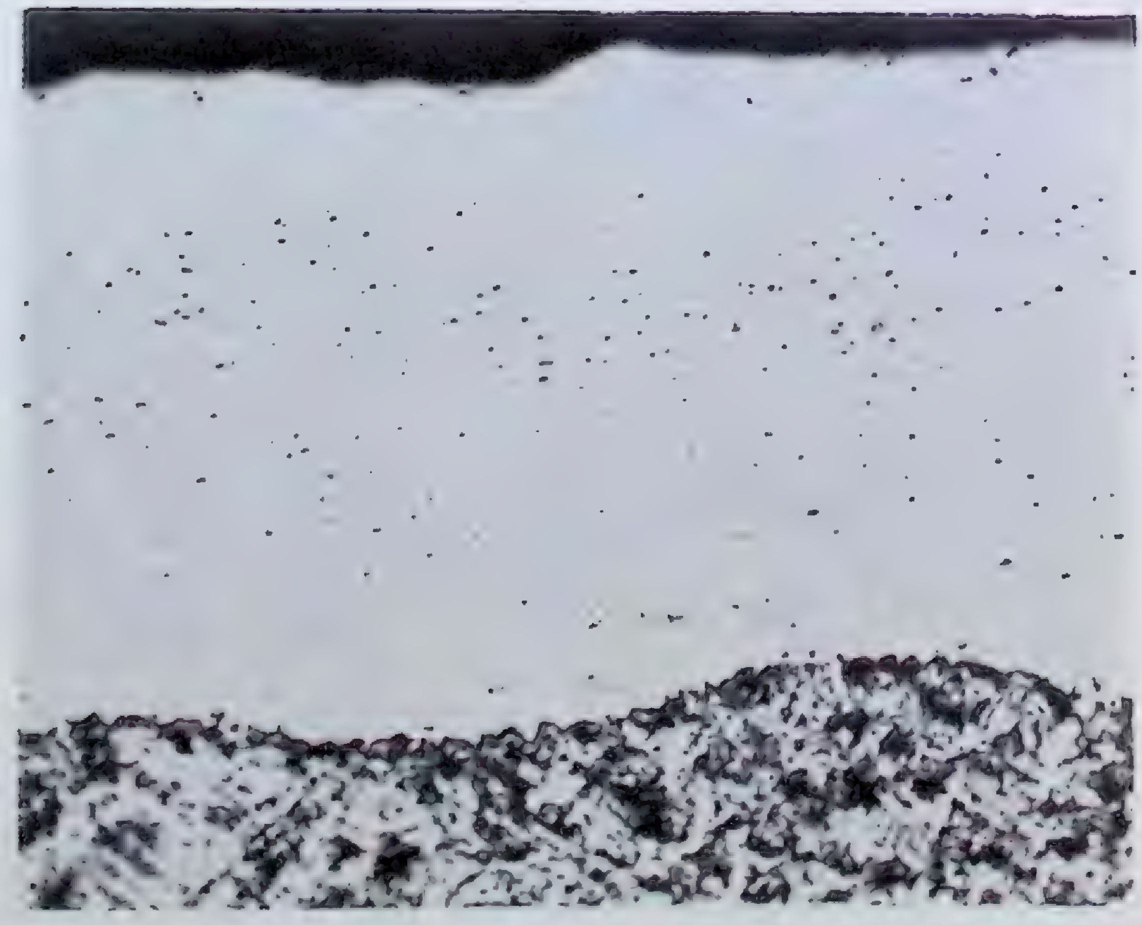

Figure 14. Specimen VII-E-603. As-polished. Oxide particles are concentrated in the central part of specimen. Cracks are clearly visible near the soldered surface (bottom part of photomicrograph). X100.

The oxide distribution in some of the soldered specimens was somewhat different. Thus, Figure 14 shows that copper oxide particles are concentrated in the middle portion of specimen VII-E-603, and small holes and fine cracks are present in the areas depleted of copper oxide; these factors suggest (2) that the material has been heated in a hydrogen-containing atmosphere to temperatures about 700°C (1300°F). Some of these cracks contain a compound which has the appearance of cuprous oxide.

(2) *Solder specimens*

Figure 15 is taken partly in the base metal and partly in the solder of specimen VII-E-603. In this photomicrograph, which was deliberately over-printed, the copper oxide and lead particles are black, and a eutectoid compound is seen in the solder. The figure shows the excellent bond between the copper and the "solder" and the absence of any intermetallic compound at the interface. Instead, a narrow diffusion zone is apparent. Details of a large particle of delta eutectoid (a copper-tin intermetallic compound) are shown in Figure 16.

In specimen VII-E-425 the microstructure of the copper specimen is not modified in the vicinity of the solder as was that of the previously described specimen. Also, there is an intermetallic compound layer between copper and solder; this is typical of normal lead-tin soldered joints with copper. The microstructure of the solder specimen, shown in Figure 17, consists of three phases: a textured phase similar to that of a very fine eutectic; a structureless constituent whose colour varies from white to dark grey, depending on the orientation of the crystals to the surface; and a very fine and hard phase, polished in relief and equally distributed in the other two phases. The microstructure of another solder specimen, VII-E-438, is essentially the same as that described above, and these two joints are much more characteristic of normal soldering than is specimen VII-E-603.

The significance of the various metallographic findings and those of the following sections is examined in more detail in the discussion.

Hardness Measurements

Hardness results from all the copper specimens investigated are reported in Table 2. The last column of the table gives the equivalent temper conditions of each specimen as determined from Standard Specification for Copper Sheet, Strip, Plate and Rolled Bar, ASTM Designation: B152-55. This is used only to give an indication of the amount of cold work in the various specimens.

It is seen that the native copper specimen and the specimen from the Strathaven Indian Museum are soft enough to be in the soft-anneal or, less likely, in a condition equivalent to a light cold-rolled temper. All the others have hardness values ranging from the light cold-rolled to the spring temper condition. This indicates that all "coppers" supplied by

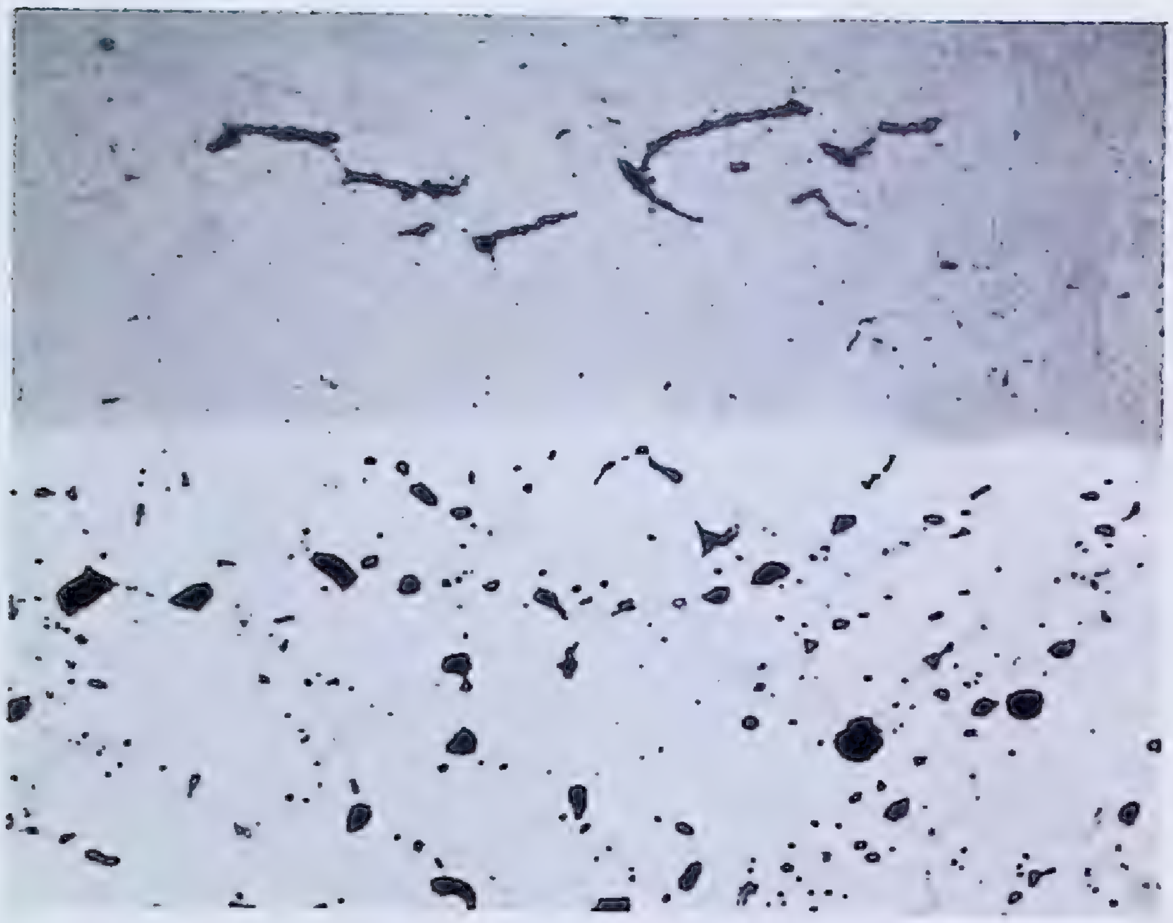

Figure 15. Specimen VII-E-603. As-polished. Detail of soldered joint, over-exposed to reveal the light grey or blue phase of the "solder." Cuprous oxide in cracks and lead particles are black. Note the absence of an alloy layer at the copper-solder interface. X250.

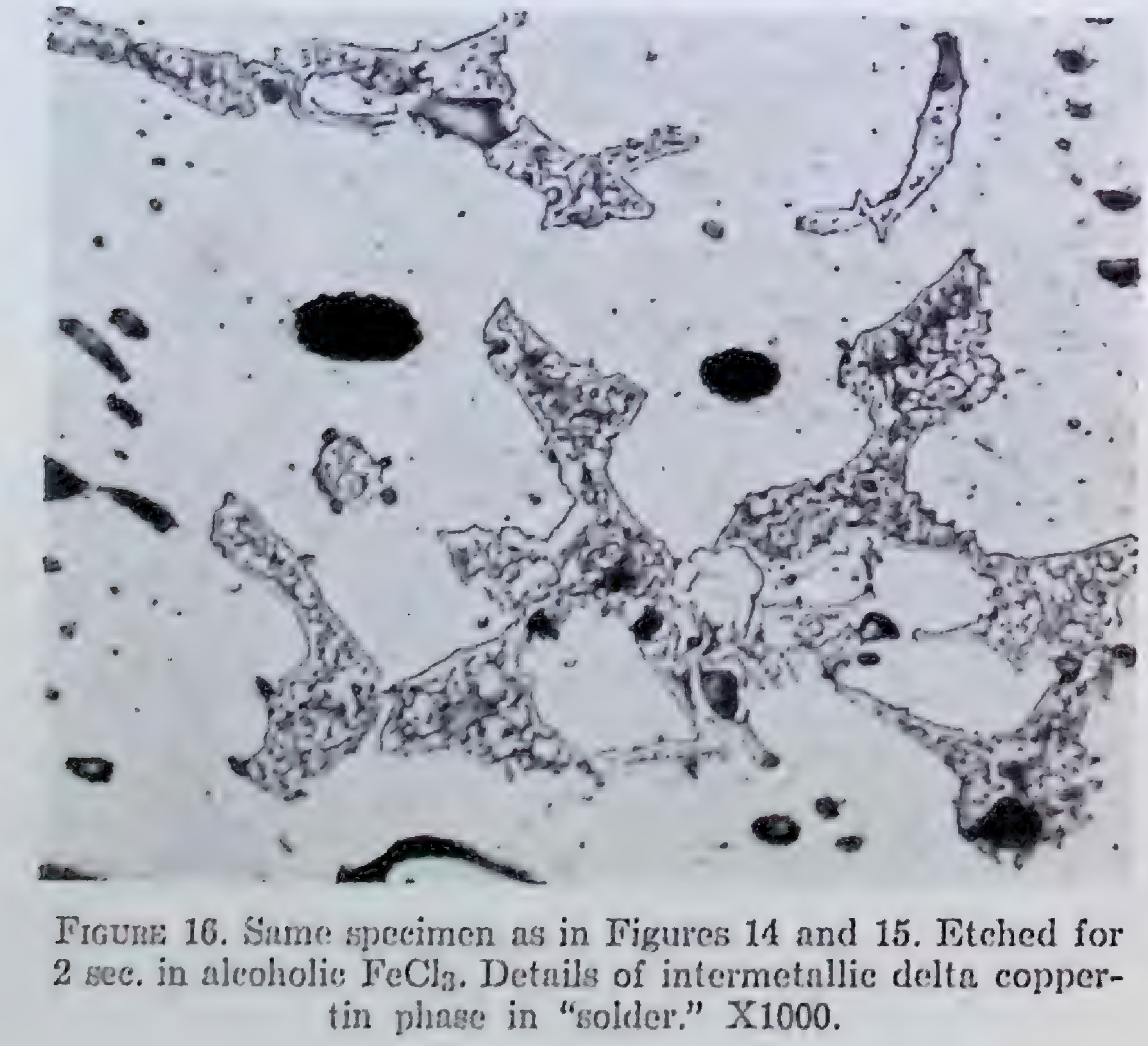

Figure 16. Same specimen as in Figures 14 and 15. Etched for 2 sec. in alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Details of intermetallic delta copper-tin phase in "solder." X1000.

the National Museum were cold-worked to a certain extent after being annealed (or, less likely, that they contain relatively large amounts of soluble impurities that would increase their hardness in the fully annealed condition).

Spectrographic Analysis

(1) *Copper specimens*

All the copper specimens available were analysed spectrographically, but it was not possible to detect any systematic trends or differences between specimens. However, in spite of certain inconsistencies, results show that all the specimens investigated are substantially pure copper.

(2) *Solder specimens*

The solders were also analysed spectrographically, and it was found that solder from specimens VII-E-425 and VII-E-438 were lead-tin alloys containing about 60 per cent lead, with copper and iron as impurities. The approximate composition of the solder from specimen VII-E-603 was 70 per cent copper, 15 per cent lead, 10 per cent tin, and 5 per cent zinc with some iron; however, contamination by the copper base metal is possible.

These results explain the microstructures shown in Figures 15 to 17. The solder of specimen VII-E-425 and VII-E-438 is a lead-base alloy containing a large proportion of lead-tin eutectic with hard particles probably involving copper and/or iron (Figure 17). The microstructure

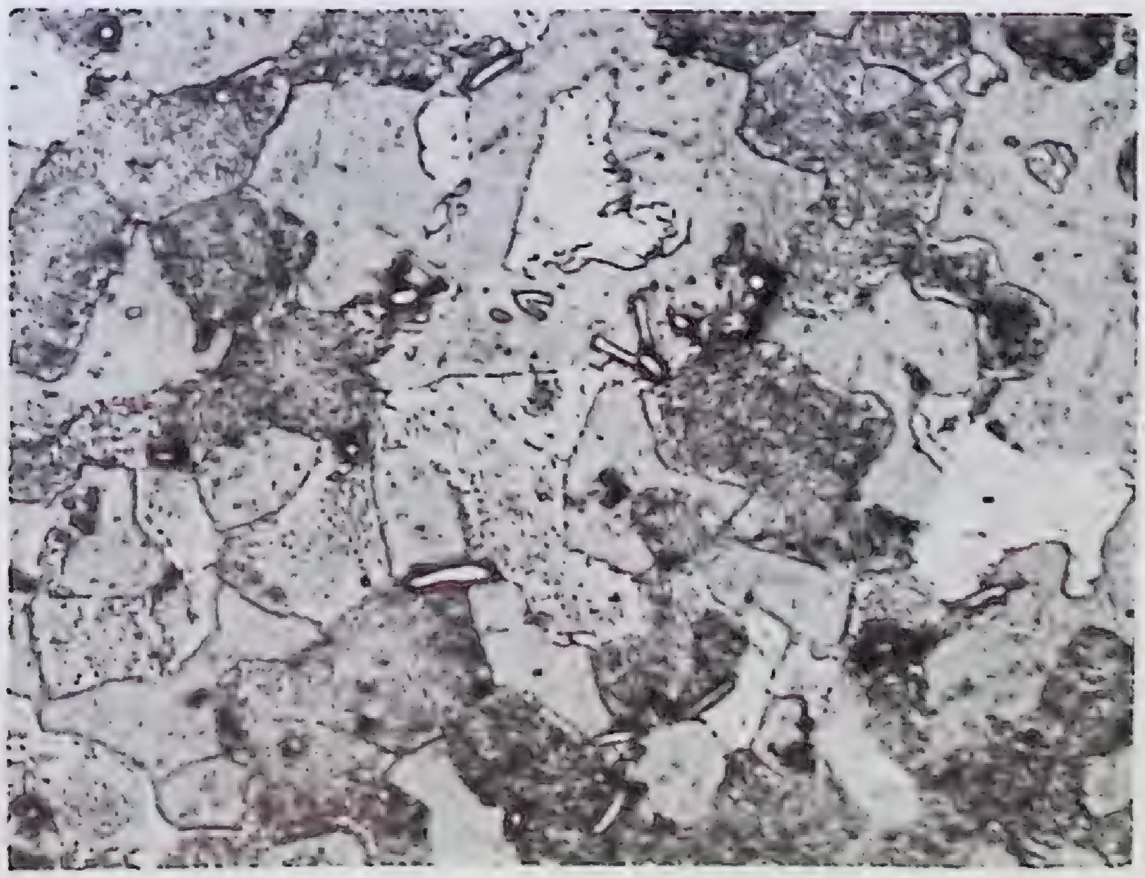

FIGURE 17. Solder from Specimen VII-E-425. Etched in dilute alcoholic $FeCl_3$. Fine eutectic-like phase, hard particles and crystals varying in colour from white to dark grey, probably depending on the crystal orientation. X750.

of the solder of specimen VII-E-603 (Figure 15) consists of lead particles and delta eutectoid (which is usually found in tin bronzes) in a matrix of a copper-tin-zinc solid solution.

SPECIAL TESTS

A number of experiments were carried out in an attempt to elucidate or synthesize the observed structures.

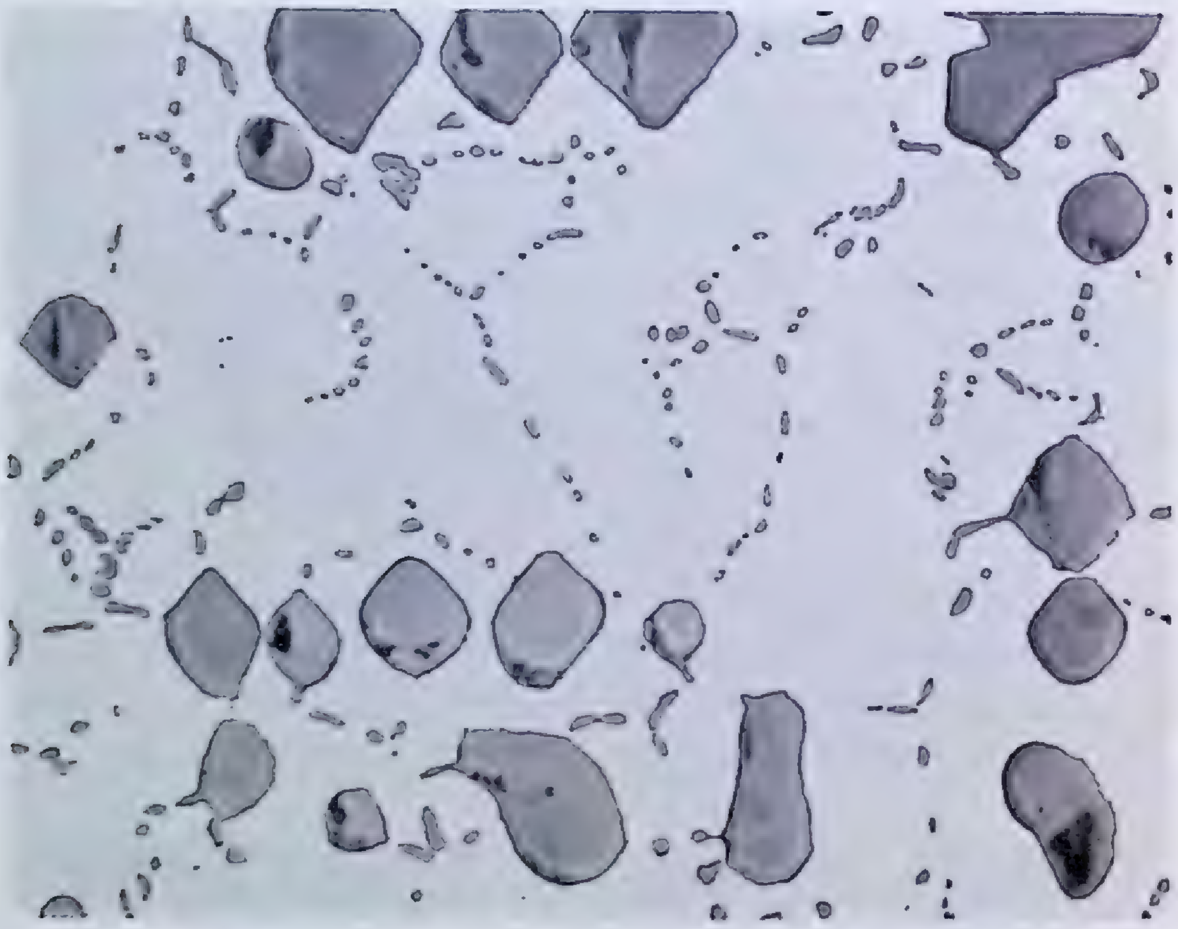

FIGURE 18. Native copper containing areas of gangue melted under a borax cover. As-polished. Note large oxide particles and small oxide particles apparently disposed along grain boundaries. X250.

(1) *Melting*

A small specimen of the native copper nugget containing metal, copper oxide, and gangue was melted in a crucible under a borax cover to exclude air from the operation. This was kept at 1200°C for half an hour and furnace-cooled. In Figure 18 a section of the button so obtained is shown, in which an excess of oxygen, presumably coming from the oxidized areas in the native copper, formed the cuprous oxide particles. It is therefore conceivable that native copper, even if melted in a reducing atmosphere, would yield, upon melting and hammering, a structure that would be quite close to those found in the Museum "coppers."

(2) *Forging*

Two other specimens from the same native copper piece were covered with graphite to prevent or limit air reaction and heated at 850°C for twenty-four hours. One specimen was examined metallographically after this treatment. The other specimen was forged flat, being returned to the furnace and repacked in graphite for reheating when it became too hard to forge easily. This specimen was also examined metallographically.

These heated and heated-and-forged specimens were found to have essentially the same microstructure. The bulk of the specimens show no oxide particles, whereas the oxide-containing areas show a fine precipitate associated with the large oxide inclusions (Figure 19). These large copper oxide inclusions came from the original native copper. Although, in general, the fine precipitate is dispersed at random in the zone adjacent to oxide pools, it is occasionally lined up along grain boundaries, as shown in Figure 19. It is thought that the heat treatment at 850°C for twenty-four hours dissolved some oxide which later precipitated at a lower temperature, and it is apparent that this type of oxide distribution is quite different from that observed in the Indian "coppers."

Another forging test was carried out on a specimen of oxygen-free high-conductivity (O.F.H.C.) copper after heating for half an hour at 850°C in air. The specimen was hot-hammered flat and folded several times in an attempt to introduce oxide particles into an originally oxide-free structure, the specimen being returned to the furnace and reheated when it became too hard to deform easily. Another specimen was kept in the furnace during this forging operation, again for comparison purposes.

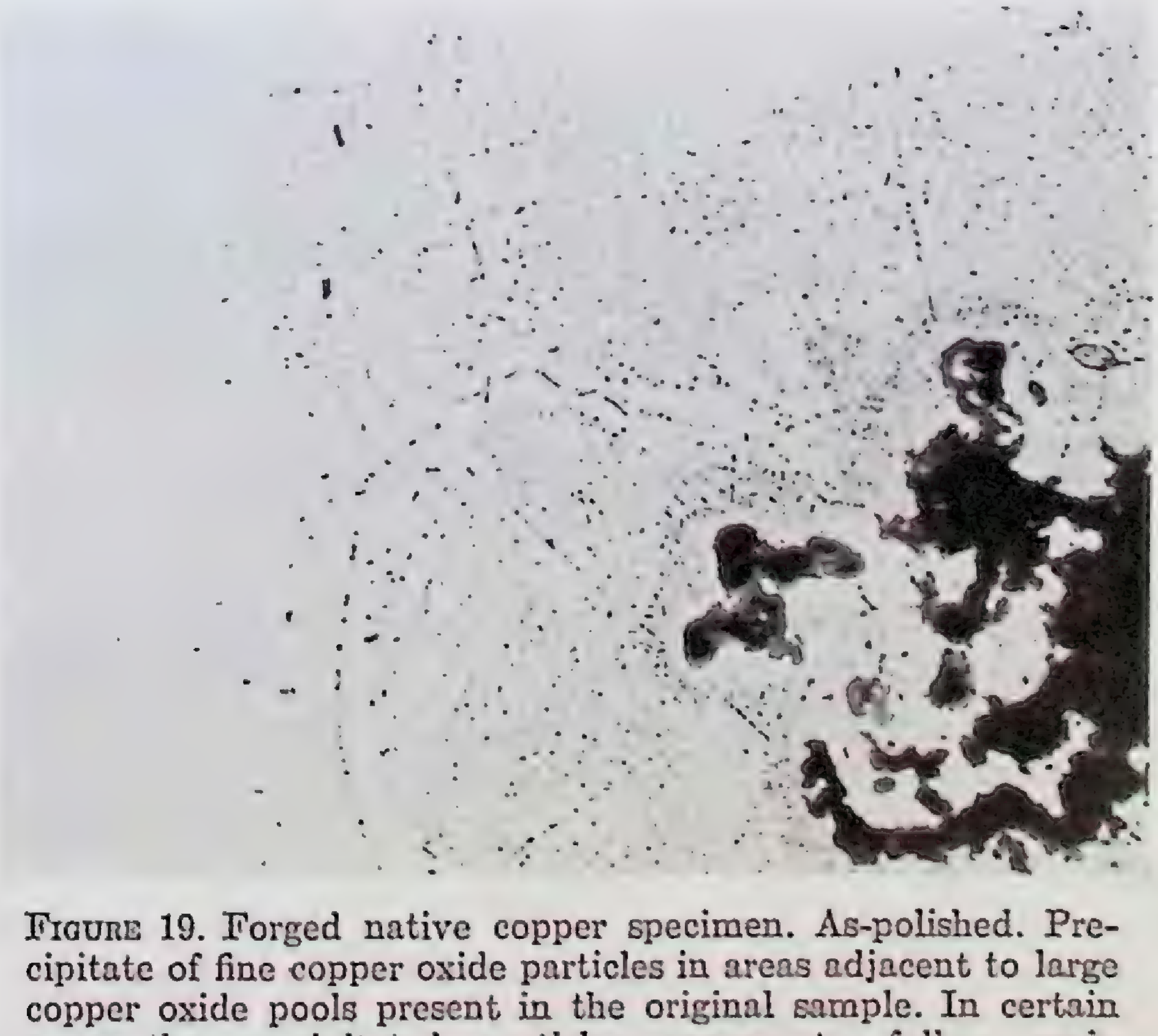

FIGURE 19. Forged native copper specimen. As-polished. Precipitate of fine copper oxide particles in areas adjacent to large copper oxide pools present in the original sample. In certain areas the precipitated particles appear to follow grain boundaries. X250.

When this latter specimen was examined under the microscope, its structure did not contain any oxide except for a thin oxide layer formed on the surface of the specimen. The forged specimen contained layers of oxide, as shown in Figure 20. This oxide was formed during heating at high temperature, and when the flattened specimen was folded and hammered, this oxide layer was trapped in the otherwise oxide-free copper matrix. The copper oxide may appear, as shown in the bottom part of Figure 20, as a very thick and continuous stringer or, as in the upper part of the same figure, as separate but lined-up small globules. Generally speaking, however, where the oxide layer is so broken, it appears as only one line of globules instead of several, as in Figure 20. It is also seen that in several places the two surfaces are perfectly welded by the hot-hammering operation, the only indication of a weld being the presence of stringers of oxide globules which can only come from the folded oxidized specimen. Again, this oxide distribution is very different from that found in the Indian "coppers."

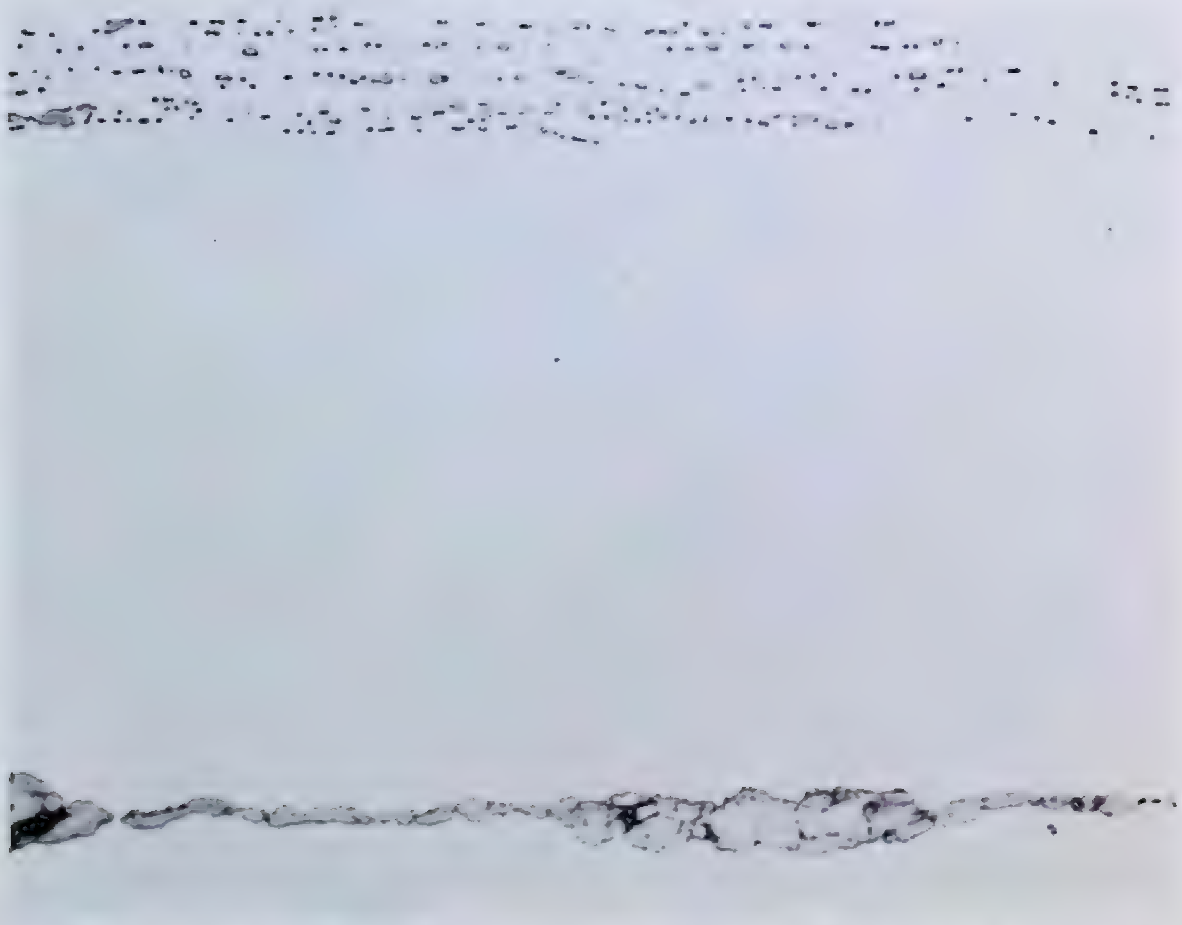

FIGURE 20. Forged and folded oxygen-free high conductivity copper specimen. As-polished. Oxide layers formed during forging are continuous or broken up. Note good weld between top folds. X250.

(3) *Soldering*

As the melting point of the so-called solder found on specimen VII-E-603 is relatively close to that of the base metal—an alloy of such composition would melt around 975°C (1785°F), whereas the melting point of copper is 1083°C (1980°F)—it is unlikely that such a material was used for joining copper. Consequently, solder tests were carried out on copper, using a solder containing 70 per cent tin and 30 per cent lead. After soldering in the usual manner, the specimens were held for twenty-four hours at 600°C (1110°F) in a reducing atmosphere.

The "as-soldered" specimens showed a thin layer of delta phase (copper-tin compound) at the copper-solder interface, with lead in the tin-lead solder forming a eutectic phase with tin. In the specimens held for twenty-four hours at 600°C, however, the structure was quite different. The solder has been replaced by a structure consisting of copper-tin solid solution and large quantities of the delta copper-tin eutectoid, with lead globules distributed throughout. It is apparent that solution or diffusion of copper in the tin has occurred, to form a bronze. These structures are sufficiently similar to that found in specimen VII-E-603 to suggest that it had been formed by considerable overheating during or subsequent to soldering.

DISCUSSION

The previous sections of the report have outlined the various tests made on the Indian "coppers" supplied by the National Museum of Canada to determine whether the material used was native or manufactured copper. For comparison, a native copper nugget, together with an Indian piece thought to be of native copper, was included in this examination. Metallographic examination showed that both of these comparison pieces had a similar structure, the copper matrix being substantially free of oxide. However, all the West Coast Indian pieces, irrespective of original location, were essentially different from the comparison pieces in that they contained substantial amounts of copper oxide distributed through their structure; thus they could be classified as tough-pitch copper.

The presence and distribution of the copper oxide particles suggest (in agreement with Hofman(3) and Kroll(4) that the objects had been made from cast copper that had subsequently been worked down into sheet form. Though a few authors (5,6) claim that the North American Indians knew how to melt and cast copper, the majority (7–16) have felt that this was not one of their achievements. It is concluded therefore, that in this case the copper from which the West Coast Indians made their pieces was manufactured by Europeans or white Americans and was not hand-beaten from nuggets of native copper. In support of this, the surfaces of many of the plaques are relatively smooth and free from the marks of beating, and the thickness of many of the plaques is remarkably uniform, the variation being less than 0.01 inch over large areas. Both of these observations suggest that the copper was rolled or possibly forged by machine rather than hand-beaten.

The methods used to join the pieces to form composite plaques are of interest. The rivets used in specimen VII-E-603, for example, are remarkably uniform and well formed, and again indicate machine fabrication. Wilson(17) suggests that the Indians were unaware of soldering methods, and the joints on specimens VII-E-425 and VII-E-438 therefore indicate White contact. The joint on specimen VII-E-603 is most unusual, in that the joining material is bronze. With such a material, in order to obtain a good bond, adequate fluxing or other measures would have to be taken to prevent oxidation, and, as the melting point of the bronze is only 100°C below that of the copper being joined, careful technique would be required to prevent overheating, resulting in the melting of the copper. All this indicates a sophistication of technique unlikely in the West Coast Indians and, indeed, in all but the most highly skilled craftsmen. Additional soldering tests carried out in this investigation indicate that a similar type of structure can be obtained by considerably overheating a normal soldered joint. From a consideration of all the factors, it is believed that this was the cause of the observed structures. The presence of a deoxidized zone at the surface of this specimen, and the cracks in this zone, both suggest that it was heated in a reducing atmosphere containing substantial quantities of hydrogen.

Finally, attempts were made to duplicate the structures observed in the Indian "coppers," which are essentially those of cast tough-pitch copper subsequently broken down by hot working, or cold working and annealing (followed in certain cases by further small amounts of cold work). On the assumption that the Indians did not know how to melt and cast copper, forging experiments were carried out on both native and oxygen-free copper. Though it was possible to introduce oxides into the copper matrix without melting (in contrast to McLeod (18)), the distribution was such that they in no way duplicated the structure of the Indian "coppers." It is possible that these structures could be duplicated, without melting, by similar forging operations, but the treatments would be so complex and so far from the primary requirement of forming a sheet from a lump that they cannot be seriously considered as possible fabrication methods. A cast structure containing well-formed oxide particles was obtained by melting parts of the nugget of native copper. However, as mentioned, the Indians were thought to be unfamiliar with the art of melting and casting, whereas the size and uniformity of some of the "coppers" suggest a refined casting and fabrication technique.

Because of the nature of the samples and the lack of appropriate standards, spectrographic analysis could give no information as to the origin of the samples other than to indicate that all were substantially pure copper and that there was no deliberate alloying.

Thus, while it is not impossible that the West Coast "coppers" examined were made by the Indians from native copper, the great weight of evidence suggests that the original sheet was of White manufacture and that it was subsequently fabricated by the Indians (possibly with White assistance, in the case of the soldered joints) into the final characteristic shapes.

CONCLUSIONS

It is believed that the original sheet metal of the "coppers" which were supplied by the National Museum of Canada was of European or white American origin, for two main reasons:

1. The presence and distribution of copper oxide particles found in the microstructure almost certainly indicate that the copper was melted, and it is generally believed that the North American Indians did not know how to melt copper.
2. The surface and thickness, particularly of the largest plaques, are too even to have been produced with crude tools.

It must be concluded, therefore, that the copper plates from which these "coppers" were made were originally fabricated by Europeans or white North Americans, who had the heavy equipment necessary to produce such sheets.

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NOTES ON THE KAYAK AND ITS EQUIPMENT AT IVUYIVIK, P.Q.[*]

By E. Y. Arima

RÉSUMÉ

Les présentes notes sur le kayak esquimau du Labrador renferment des données recueillies en 1960 à Notre-Dame d'Ivugivic, à l'extrémité nord-ouest de la province de Québec. L'auteur donne un aperçu de la construction d'un kayak, qu'il fait suivre d'une description de la rénovation d'une vieille charpente. Il donne les expressions dont se servent les Esquimaux de l'endroit pour désigner les divers éléments et l'armement traditionnel du kayak, ainsi que quelques commentaires explicatifs. Enfin, il étudie les principales pièces d'équipement contemporain, le harpon léger à toutes fins et la carabine.

General Outline of Construction

Construction of the framework begins with the gunwales, 'aponmak.' These two long sturdy pieces are fashioned in a shape which will give a flat deck between a gently rising bow and a little upturned horn at the stern when bent around the transverse deck beams (*see* Figure 1).

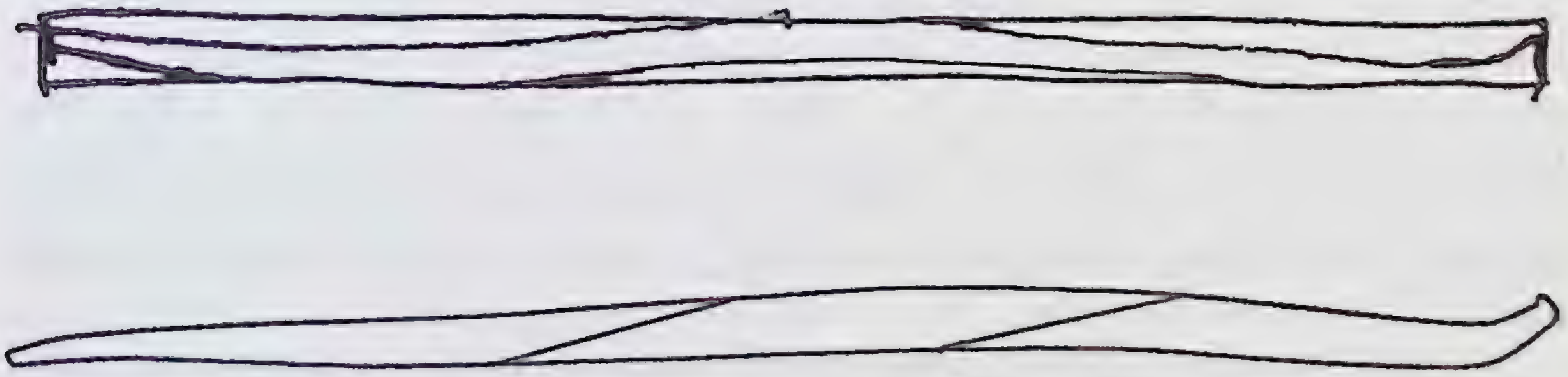

Figure 1. Gunwale shapes. *Above:* Sketch by Tivi; *below:* cardboard pattern by Iyaitok with scarfs added. These outlines are a little too wide.

Usually each gunwale is made from two or more pieces of wood scarfed together with nails. To make a gunwale in one piece would require a plank over twenty feet long by a good foot wide, a size of lumber that is usually unavailable or very expensive for the Ivuyivik people. Tivi, one of the informants, said that scarfed gunwales are handier, 'akaonaksak.' The gunwales are first fastened together at stem and stern. If lashing is used, a pair of holes is drilled at each end through the gunwale tips from side to side, care being taken to set the holes at a slant across the grain to lessen the possibility of splitting. The line for lashing, usually bearded seal, is threaded through the holes until it cannot be passed through anymore, five or six turns perhaps. Wooden pins are then driven into the holes to fill them tight. Nails or screws might also be used to fasten the gunwales together. For most of the framework, nails were considered better than the line lashings, which entail much work and break from time to time. Nails are countersunk, for they rust; and if left in contact with the cover, they make holes in the skins. Also, nails are driven right through the wood, and the emerging tips are bent back. Otherwise, they would not hold. But in gunwale ends that are nailed together the tips do not have to be bent back.

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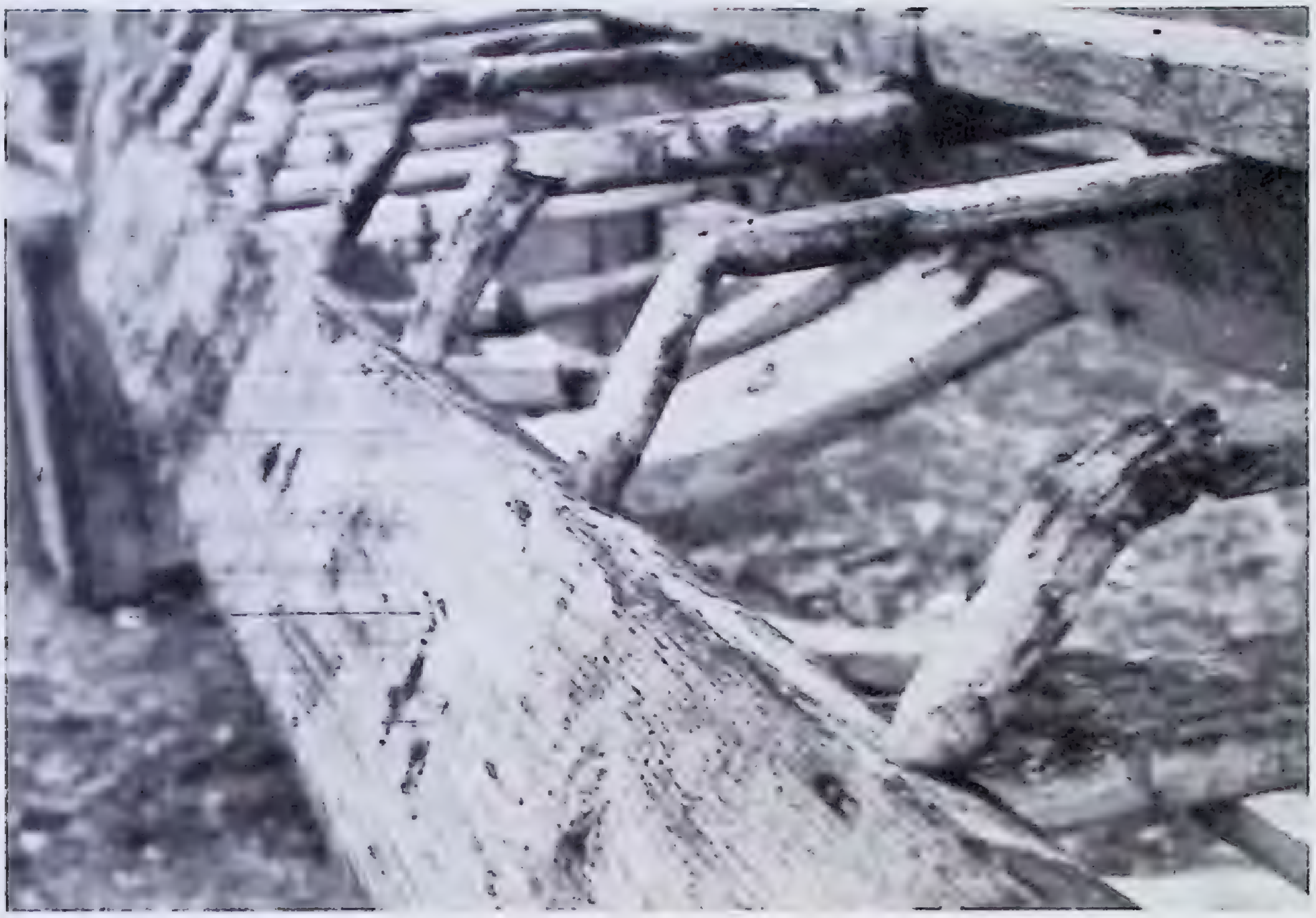
[*] Kayaks have been described many times with varying degrees of thoroughness. The present description admittedly is not the most complete (I have yet to see the entire process of kayak construction from the start to finish); however, the data gathered at Ivuyivik, P.Q., in 1960 seemed worthy of a better fate than filing into oblivion. Ainalik (E 9-982), Iyaitok (E 9-963), Manikulu, (E 9-1314), and Tivi (E 9-1071) were the main informants.

When the gunwales have been fastened at the ends, they are spread apart by the deck beams. The first beam to be put in is the 'masik,' a stout curved piece which supports the front of the cockpit coaming. It is placed at the middle of the kayak. The next beam is the 'itivik,' which marks the back of the cockpit. Then the other deck beams are added, working from the middle of the kayak out to the ends. Line is looped around the gunwales to hold them in tight against the transverse pieces. A length around the cockpit section is left on until all the deck beams and ribs are in place. It is important, apparently, in producing the flare in the sides of the kayak by squeezing the bottom edges of the gunwales in closer than the top edges, which are, of course, being held apart by the deck beams. According to Tivi, if the flare was not good, correction might be made by placing the framework upside-down on the ground and driving down pairs of stakes about the gunwales at the desired slant.

After the gunwales and the deck beams have been assembled satisfactorily, the U-shaped ribs, 'tikpik,' are added. Construction now proceeds with the kayak upside-down. The ribs fit into holes bored into the bottom surface of the gunwale planks. According to Hawkes (1916: 71), they are let into the gunwales about 1½ inches and secured with wooden pins. I failed to look for the presence of pins. To form the turn of the bilge, the ribs are bent quite sharply, roughly at about a 110 to 120 or 130 degree angle. To facilitate bending, a notch or two are usually cut into the inner side of the rib to about half its thickness. Nevertheless, some of the ribs break or splinter upon bending and have to be bound together. Often a rib is made of three separate pieces, a bottom and two sides—nailed or bound together. The spacing of the ribs is one hand-length (tip of the middle finger to base of palm) or one and a half hand-lengths (tip of middle finger to a point on the forearm just above the wrist). In the past,



Detail of ribs showing differences in bending. *Right to left*: bend with two notches, which has splintered; good bend with one notch; rib with separate bottom and sides; bend that has been bound.

ribs were spaced a thumb to index finger spread apart. This closer spacing is better, according to Tivi, who supplied this information on rib spacing. Generally ribs do not seem to be placed directly under the deck beams, possibly to avoid having a mortise for a rib and two holes for a deck beam at the same spot in the gunwales, particularly where they are narrower toward the ends. The side part of the ribs is short because the kayak should be shallow in depth, especially in the back half behind the cockpit.

When the ribs are in place, the keel is added. It is frequently made of two or more pieces scarfed together. As the kayak is flat-bottomed, in a strict sense it may be considered to be keel-less. In this account the keel is a slender piece of wood which runs longitudinally down the centre of the bottom of the kayak. Where necessary, wooden shims are inserted between the ribs and the keel, filling any gaps between them. In the pointed bow section where the ribs are pairs of V-shaped struts, the rib bottoms are set in little concavities cut in the keel, and the keel is held in place by lashing connecting it to the gunwales in the intervals between the ribs. The ends of the keel are secured to the gunwales directly.

Next, the chine or bilge stringers are bent into place along the bent corners of the ribs. Their ends are fastened to the keel where it bends upward into the stem and stern sections. These stringers form the lateral margins of the flat bottom of the kayak. At Ivuyivik they are grooved on the inner surface to fit around the bent corners of the ribs. When the keel and stringers are each lashed to the ribs by a continuous length of line, the lashing is done from the stern to the stem, according to Manikulu. On the outside of the ribs a pair of side stringers is added to keep the skin cover off the ribs. It is sufficient to have them just along the front half or third of the kayak where there is a relatively wide gap between the gunwales and the bilge stringers.[1] At Povungnituk, 200 miles south of Ivuyivik, the side stringers run the full length of the kayak because the bilge stringers are not grooved and something is needed to hold the ribs in from the side. The bilge stringer is probably grooved all along the south side of the Hudson Strait. Turner, who studied the Koksoagmiut around Fort Chimo about 1882–4, writes,

> The side timbers at the bottom have the upper surface gouged so as to allow the lower ends of the nearly perpendicular ribs to rest in the groove (1894: 237).

Another stringer runs down the centre of the deck with an interruption amidships, of course, for the cockpit opening. I am not certain as to when it is added to the framework—when the deck beams have been put in or after the bottom is complete.

To form a sitting surface that is raised off the bottom, several boards are set between the ribs at the cockpit and in front of it where the legs will extend. These seat boards, which sit on top of the keel and the bilge stringers, are tied down in place. The cockpit coaming is made from two pieces of wood, a straight piece for the back and a U-shaped one for the rest. The width of the cockpit opening should be such that a rifle can be placed on each side of the occupant. An allowance of a hand-width on each side will do. This means an opening about 20 inches wide. As for length, when a man is sitting with the back of the coaming against the small of his back, the front of the cockpit opening should come just above the knees on his extended legs.

Before the covering of the framework, all surfaces that will come into contact with the skins are smoothed off. Lashing and any nails or screws have been countersunk. The dehaired sealskins are assembled into one long piece with braided white whale sinew thread. Sewing is done by the women, of course, using an embedded stitch in a lapped double seam. The cover is placed around the bottom and sides of the framework and drawn tightly together down the centre of the top side by means of a thin but strong line running through the cover's edge on alternate sides in zigzag fashion. Men lend their strength to this task. Then the cover is sewn together over the deck with patches put in to bridge any gaps. At the cockpit where an opening has been left, the cover is laced to the coaming. According to Ainalik, a large kayak, say about 24 feet long, requires for its cover four bearded seal skins and part of a fifth at the stem. For kayak covering a bearded seal is skinned preferably with a spiral cut from the corner of the mouth, around the back of the neck, across the front of the neck to the opposite shoulder, and diagonally around the body, again ending at the rear flippers. The resulting long piece of skin was used wrapped spirally about the framework of the kayak. According to Ainalik, when ringed seal is used, ten skins are needed for a large kayak and eight for a smaller one.

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[1] Ivuyivik informants held this view. However, a kayak (IV-B-494) collected by Hawkes in 1914 at Cape Wolstenholme near Ivuyivik has full length side stringers together with grooved bilge stringers. As its gunwales are fairly light and narrow, being one inch thick by 3½ inches wide amidships, full length side stringers appear appropriate for adding strength and bridging the slightly wider space between gunwale and bilge stringer in the back half of the craft. Similarly a more recently built kayak (IV-B-744) from Cape Smith, collected by Asen Balikci in 1959, has full length side stringers with slightly grooved bilge stringers, and its gunwales are 1⅜ inches thick by 3½ inches wide amidships. Ainalik's kayak (IV-B-767) has considerably wider gunwale pieces, 1⅜ inches by 5⅜ inches amidships. Partial length side stringers may be a recent development from the use of wider and stronger gunwales around Ivuyivik.

Canvas covers were also used. Tivi formerly had a canvas-covered kayak painted grey with black stem and stern. Of this colour scheme he exclaimed 'pyoyok!', 'fine' or 'beautiful.' In 1960 at Ivuyivik, Oshuadjuk's kayak, used by his sons, had a skin cover which was white with black stem and stern. The eldest son Simeonie, E 9-1004, explained it as being caused by the centre skins being old with the dark hair and epidermis rotted off, while the ends had been re-covered with new black skin. He said that white and black skins were used anyhow, 'kanotuinak,' without regard for aesthetic effect or for camouflage. However, I think Tivi deliberately painted black ends on his kayak for aesthetic reasons. He was a much better craftsman and carver than Simeonie. Of the canvas used he said the heaviest was the best. A single long piece was slit lengthwise down the middle at the stem and stern sections where the keel slanted up from the flat bottom. The cover was nailed on along these slanting parts of the keel and to the deck stringer and the cockpit coaming. Three coats of paint were used for waterproofing.

Once the framework was covered, a pair of lines was attached to the gunwales to stretch transversely across the deck several inches in front of the cockpit, and another line was placed across the deck just behind it. These deck straps could be of one continuous length of line. Several feet farther back toward the stern, a pair of small loops was sewn obliquely to the deck, or another transverse line might be put on. Toward the stem another small loop was sewn on several feet in front of the deck straps before the cockpit. These thongs and loops were for holding various implements such as harpoons, spears, spear thrower, gaff, and so forth. Formerly the pair of lines before the cockpit was linked by two short lines several inches in from the sides under which the paddle was passed and secured, if so desired.

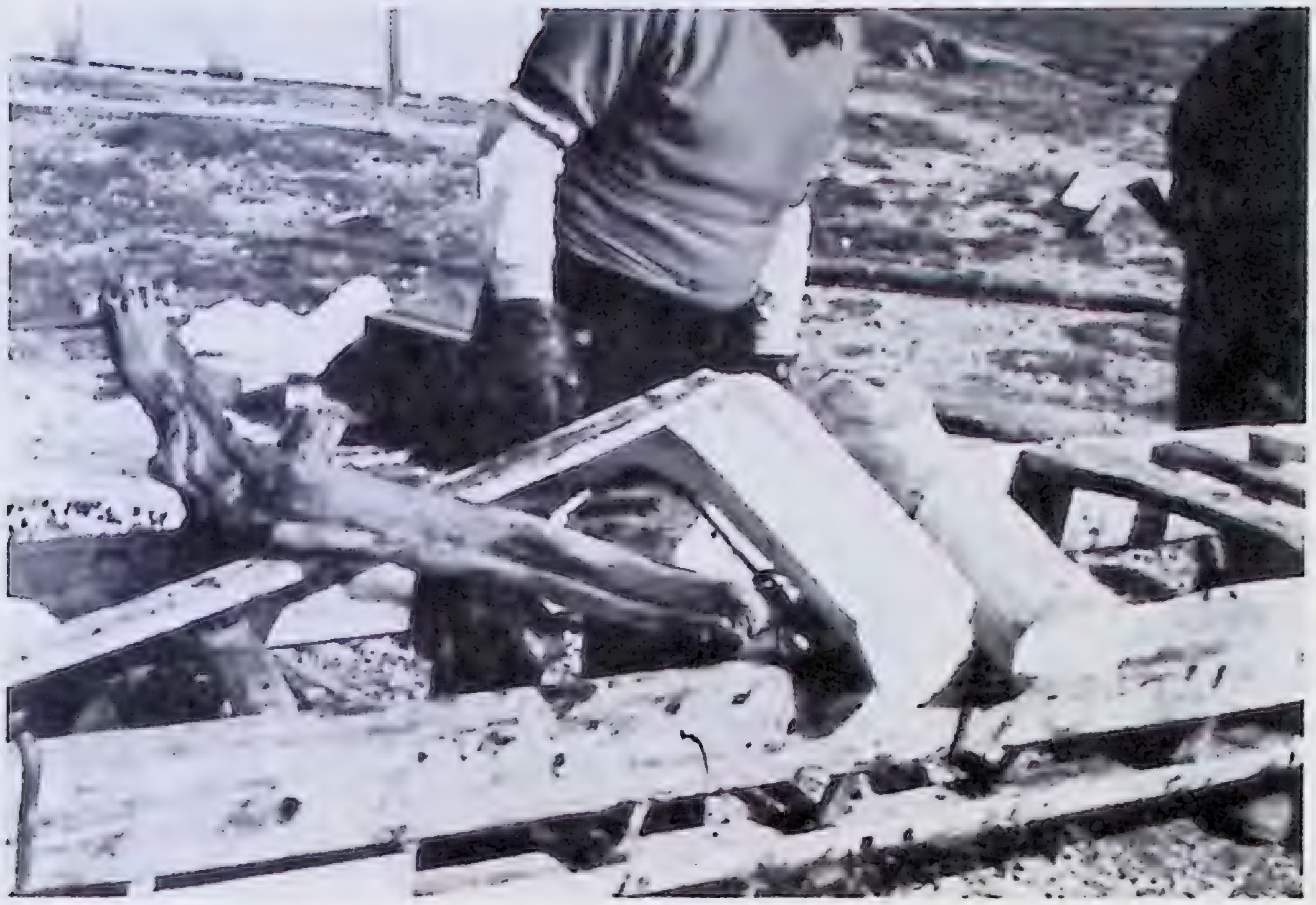
RENOVATION OF AINALIK'S KAYAK (Cat. No. IV-B-767)

In the latter half of August, 1960, Ainalik and Iyaitok rebuilt an old kayak framework which had not been used for several years. It had been originally built by Ainalik. His eldest son Yosi, E 9-984, had used it as a young man. Since Yosi was born in 1924, then he was probably using the kayak in the 1940's and possibly into the 1950's as well. In 1960 the gunwales, ribs, bilge stringers, and side stringers were still sound, but most of the transverse deck beams were gone, and the lashings needed renewing. New parts added to the framework were deck beams, including the heavy arched one at the front of the cockpit, the cockpit coaming, the deck stringers, three floor boards, and the front half of the keel, as well as new lashing. The following account of the process of kayak renovation is essentially a rewriting of field notes.

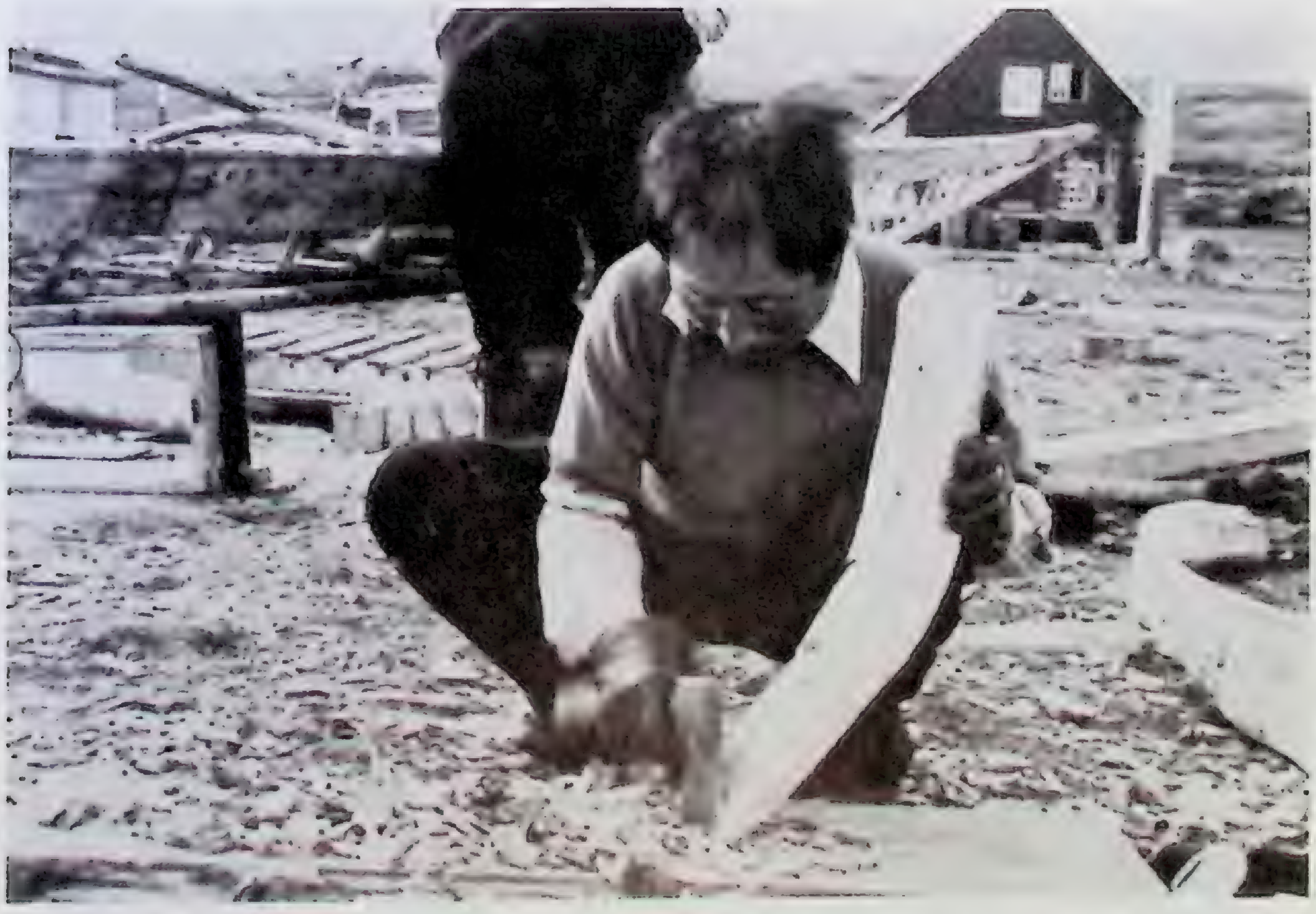
Wednesday, Aug. 17. The work was done on a well-drained level stretch of ground beside the Roman Catholic Mission. The kayak framework was raised up on two wooden boxes placed under the bow and the stern. The kayak was placed right-side-up for working on the deck. Of the three curved deck beams in front of the cockpit, two were made anew by Iyaitok. The foremost of the three was retained from the old framework. The rearmost, the heavy arched beam called 'masik,' which supports the front of the cockpit coaming, was made from a driftwood log about six inches in diameter with a bend where apparently a side limb had once branched off. This bend provided the curve in the 'masik' of course. The log was first sawn down to the right length, then ripped in half lengthwise in the plane of the curve. One of the resulting curved pieces was taken by Nauyak, E 9-975, who had supplied the log, for building his own kayak. With a hatchet Iyaitok made his 'masik' roughly 4 inches wide by 2 inches thick by 21 inches long (length of chord of curve, not circumference). The curve was about 3½ inches deep. Then, setting the 'masik' into its notches in the gunwales, Iyaitok planed smooth its upper surface which would come into contact with the skin cover.

Iyaitok made one of the two curved 'masirosigik' in front of the 'masik' from a curved driftwood branch. The other 'masirosigik' was not replaced.

Meanwhile Ainalik had been putting in new deck beams, 'ayak,' in the back half of the kayak. The deck beams and the ribs are placed with the greater thickness in the horizontal plane. The old beam, 'itivik,' at the rear edge of the cockpit, 'paa,' was not replaced, nor was the beam immediately following it. In the leading edge of the 'itivik' was a shallow depression 13 inches wide and about half an inch deep, to fit comfortably against the lower back of the occupant. The other rear deck beams were made anew from dressed lumber about 1¾ inches by 1 inch with the edges taken off to

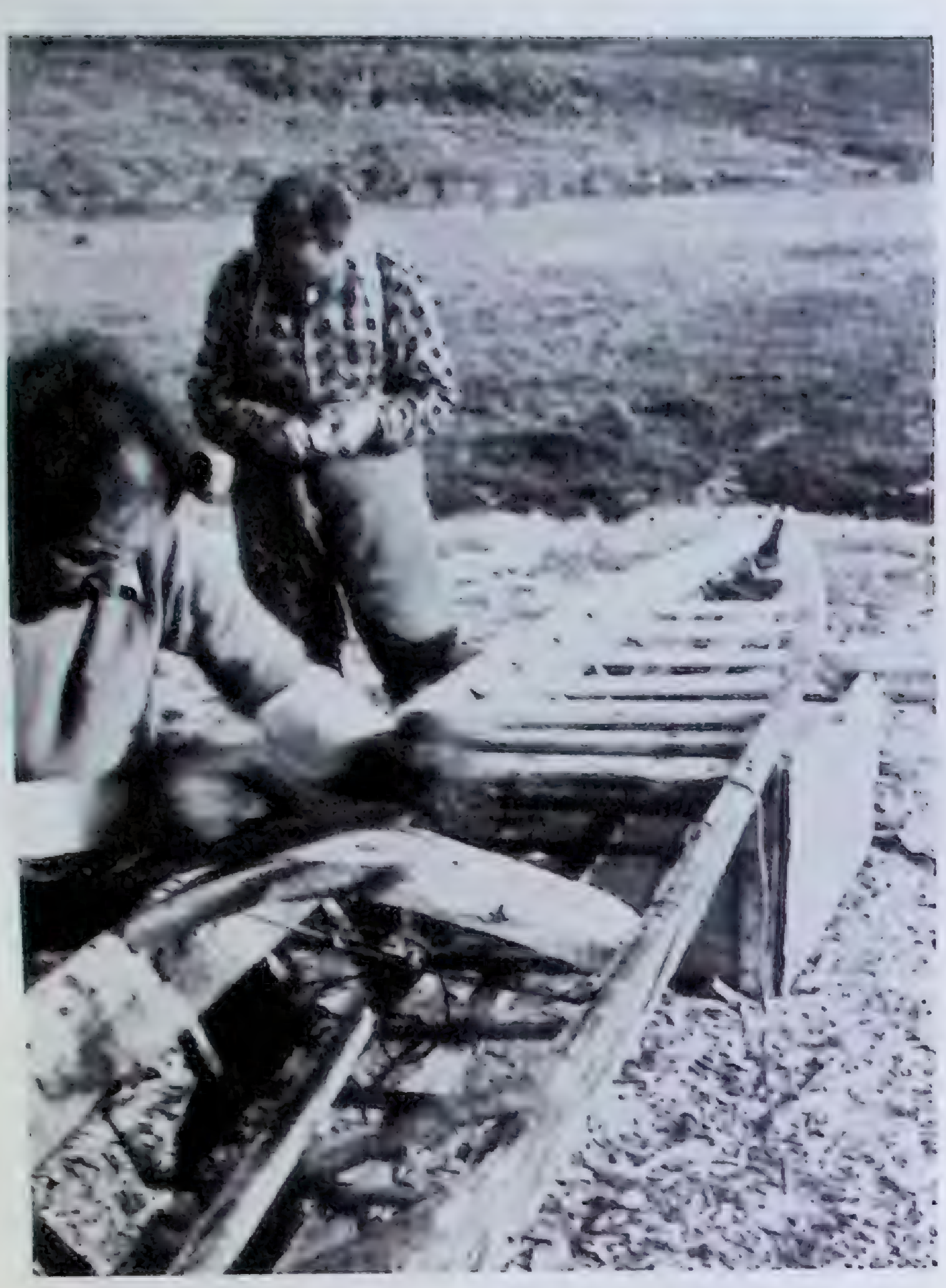


A. Two curved halves from a driftwood log for 'masiks'

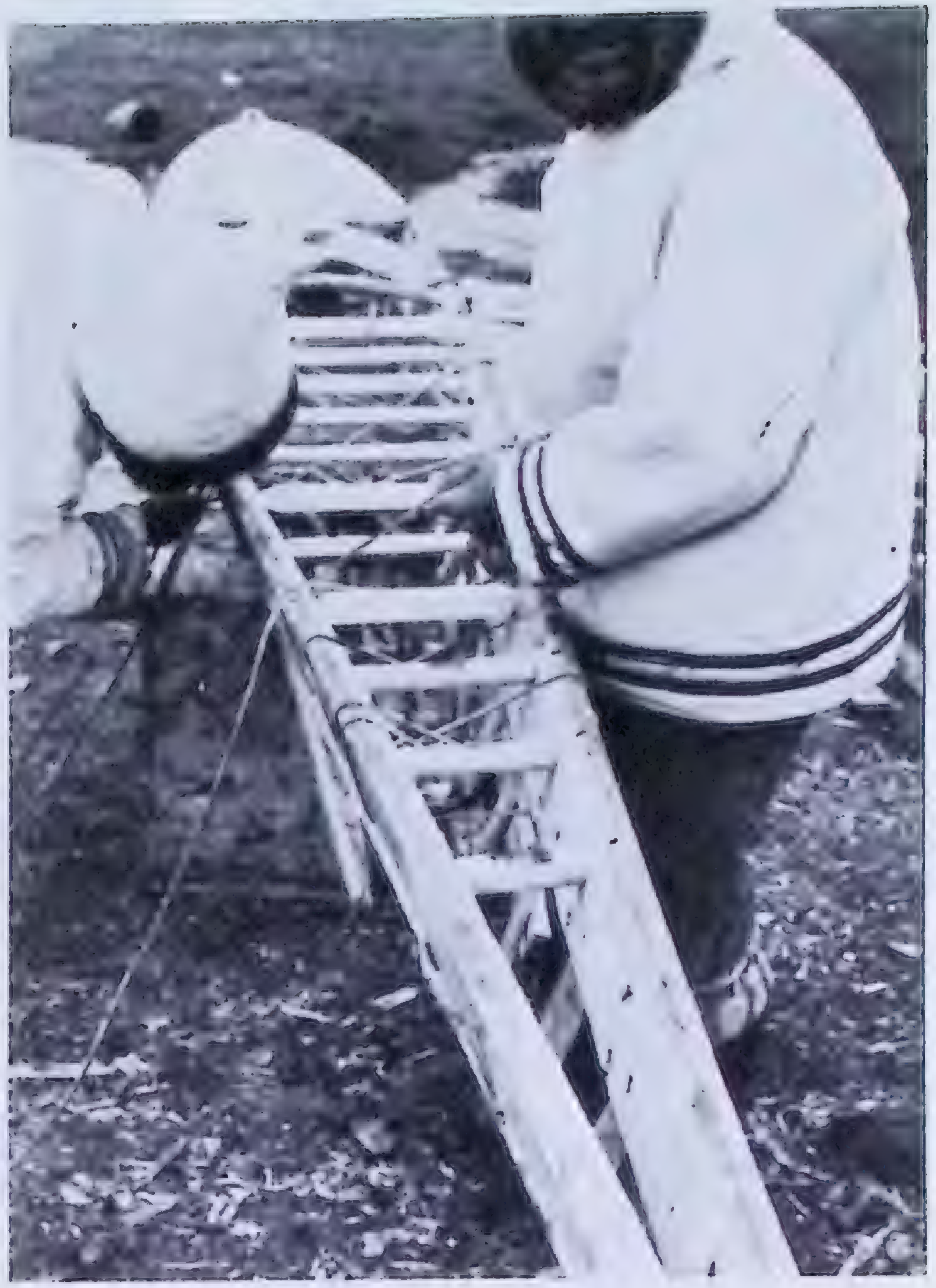


B. Iyaitok shaping the 'masik'

Plate III



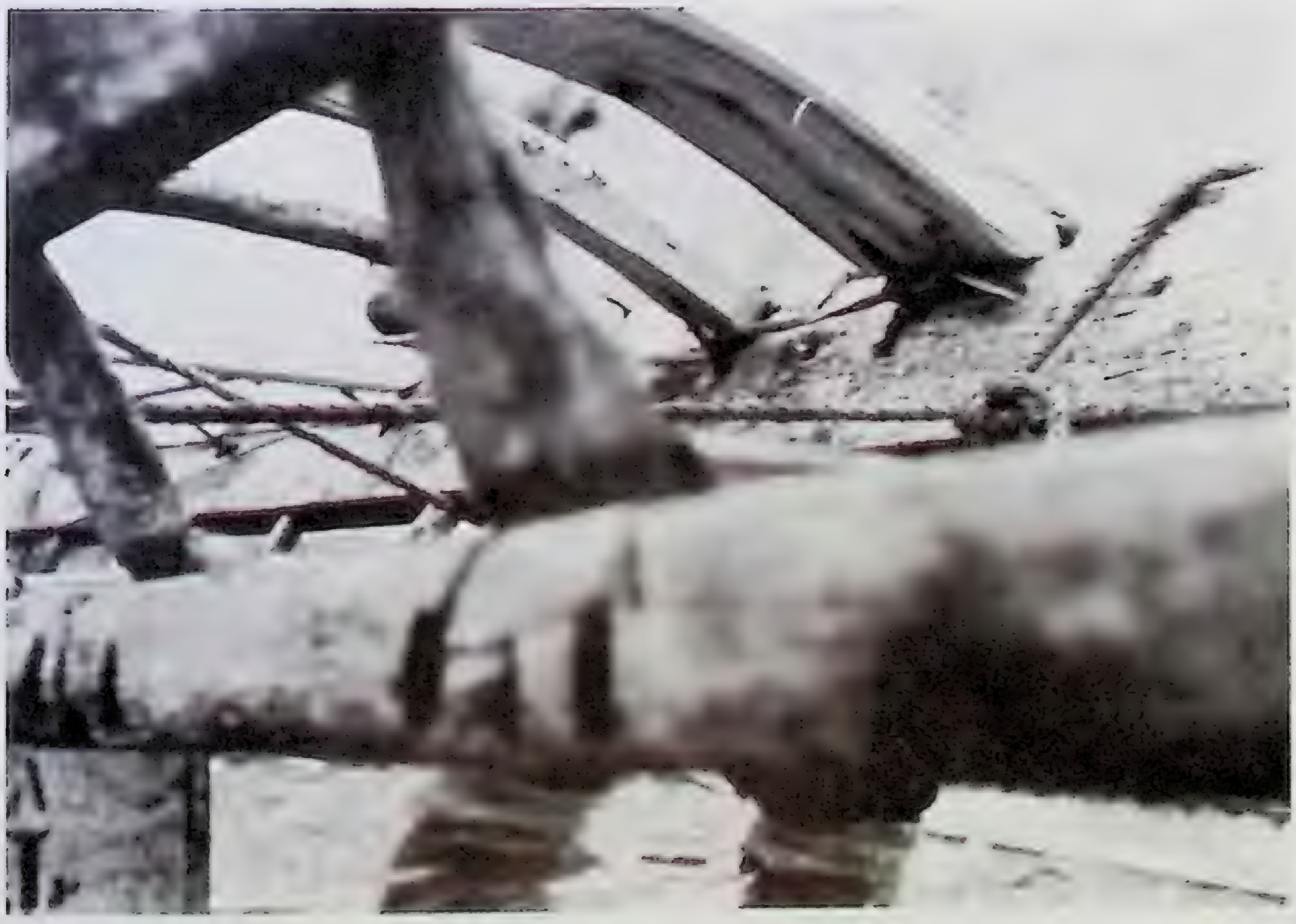
A. Planing the 'masik.' Ainalik in background trimming a deck beam.



B. Drawing the gunwales in tight against the deck beams facilitate lashing on the deck stringer later. The old original deck beams were more oval than rectangular in cross-section. For each beam Ainalik sawed off the right length of lumber and bevelled the ends to fit into the notches cut on the inner side of the gunwales. In front of the cockpit there had originally been twelve deck beams, but in the rebuilt framework there were eleven only because the little foremost one had been missing and was not replaced. The next three from the stem were retained from the old framework. Between these and the curved beams before the cockpit, eight new 'ayak' were fitted in. With bit and brace a hole was made 2 to 2½ inches in from each end of the new deck beams. Ainalik specified that these holes should not be close to the gunwales.

Thursday, Aug. 18. Rain and wind prevented work in the morning. Later in the day the deck beams were lashed to the gunwales by means of continuous line running the length of the framework. The front beams were lashed in first, starting from the 'masik' at the cockpit. A long line, looped around the gunwales in zigzag-fashion, held them in tightly against the deck beams (*see* Plate IIIB). The manner of lashing is explained best in diagrams and photographs.

Plate IV



Lashing of 'masik' to gunwale

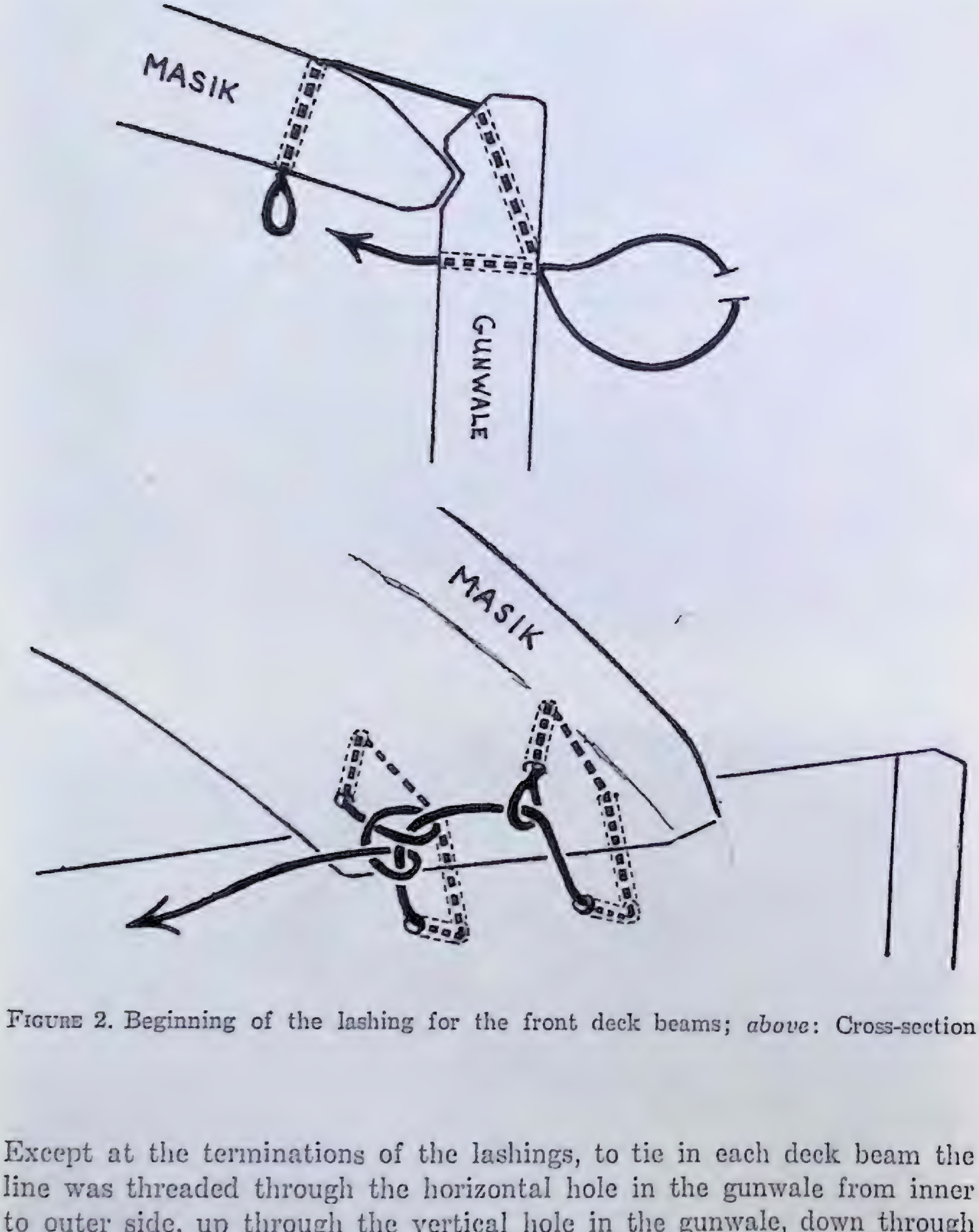


Figure 2. Beginning of the lashing for the front deck beams; *above*: Cross-section

Except at the terminations of the lashings, to tie in each deck beam the line was threaded through the horizontal hole in the gunwale from inner to outer side, up through the vertical hole in the gunwale, down through the hole in the deck beam, and looped around itself where it first entered the gunwale. At the last beam the lashing was terminated with a few hitches around itself.

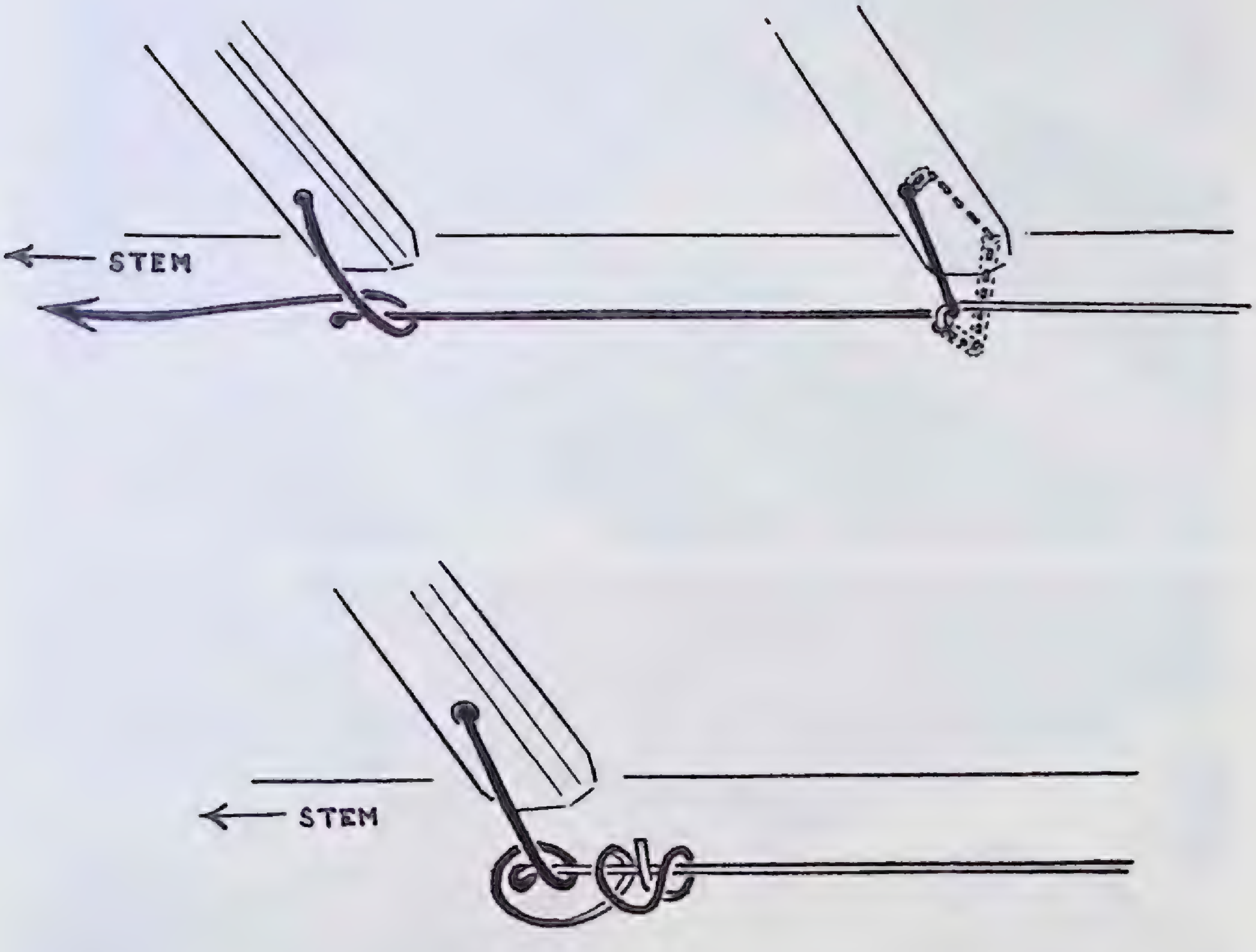
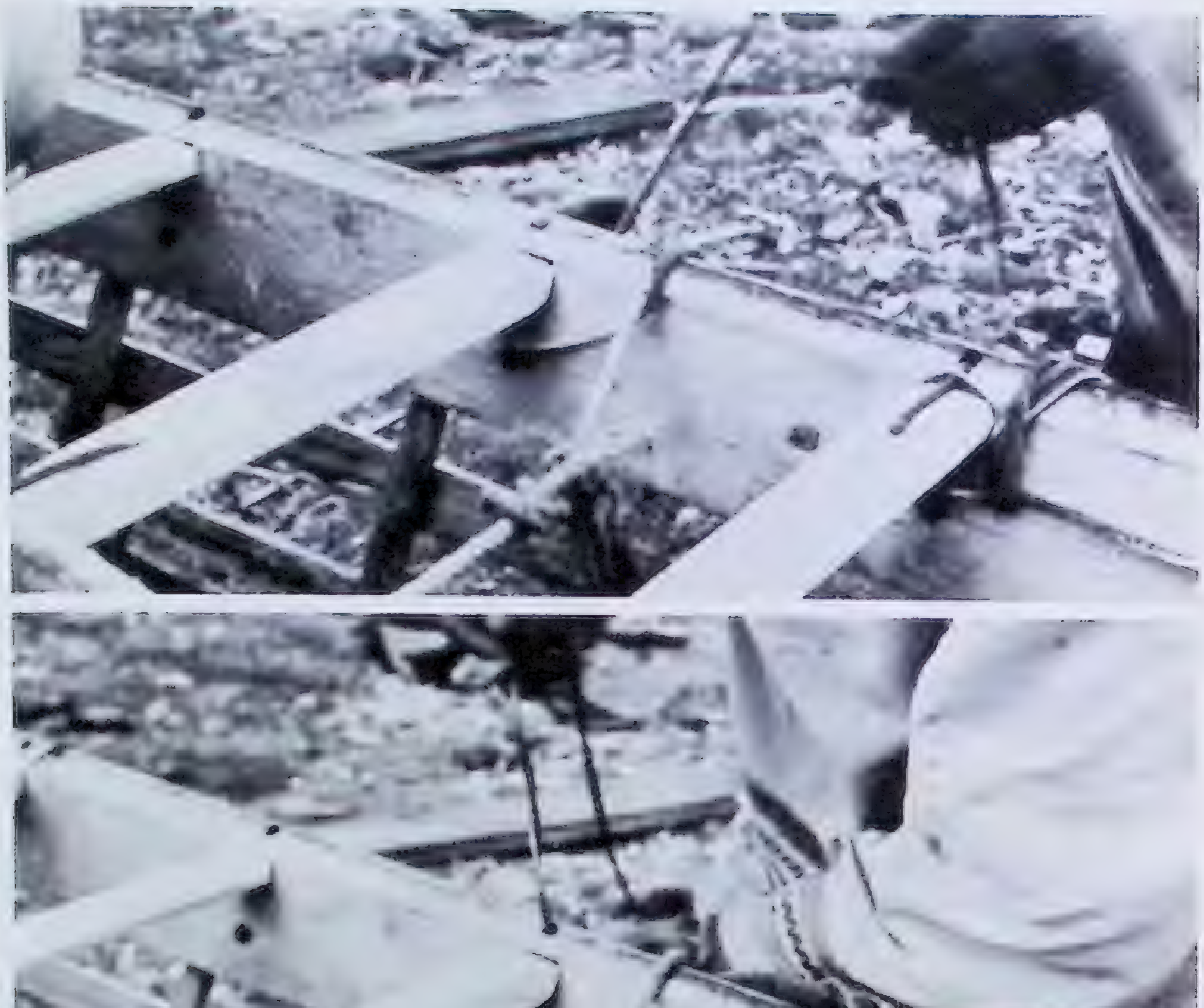


FIGURE 3. *Above*: Lashing of deck beam to gunwale; *below*: Termination of lashing for deck beams.

Back of the cockpit the first deck beam, the 'itivik,' was lashed in separately. The following 'ayak,' or ordinary beam, retained from the original framework, was secured by nails. The continuous lashing for the remaining beams therefore started at the second 'ayak' behind the 'itivik' on the port side and on the starboard at the third, the second being lashed independently on this side.

PLATE V



Lashing in a deck beam

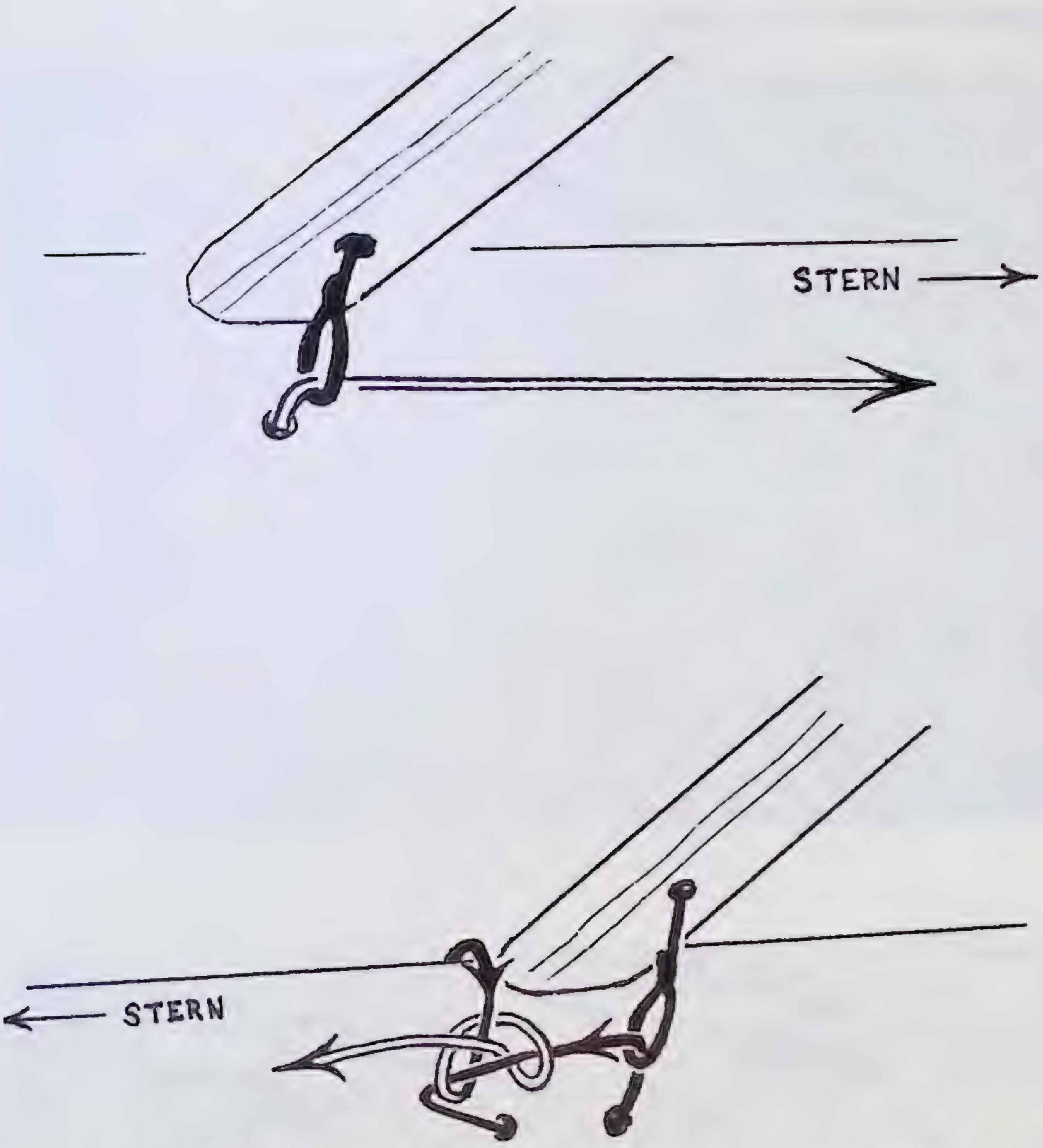


Figure 4. *Above*: Beginning of continuous lashing on the starboard gunwale at the third 'ayak' behind the cockpit; *below*: Beginning of lashing on the port gunwale at the second 'ayak' behind the cockpit.

The reason for the pairs of holes in the gunwales at the second 'ayak' is that at first the 'itivik' was placed here, the kayak having been longer. There are also paired holes at the second sternmost 'ayak.' When convenient or necessary, the deck beam-gunwale lashing is done in ways different from the simplest and more or less standard method (Figure 3). For example, on the starboard side the second rearmost 'ayak' was being lashed independent of the rest when Ainalik found that the line would not pass through the hole in the beam a second time. He secured the end of the line as in Figure 6 below.

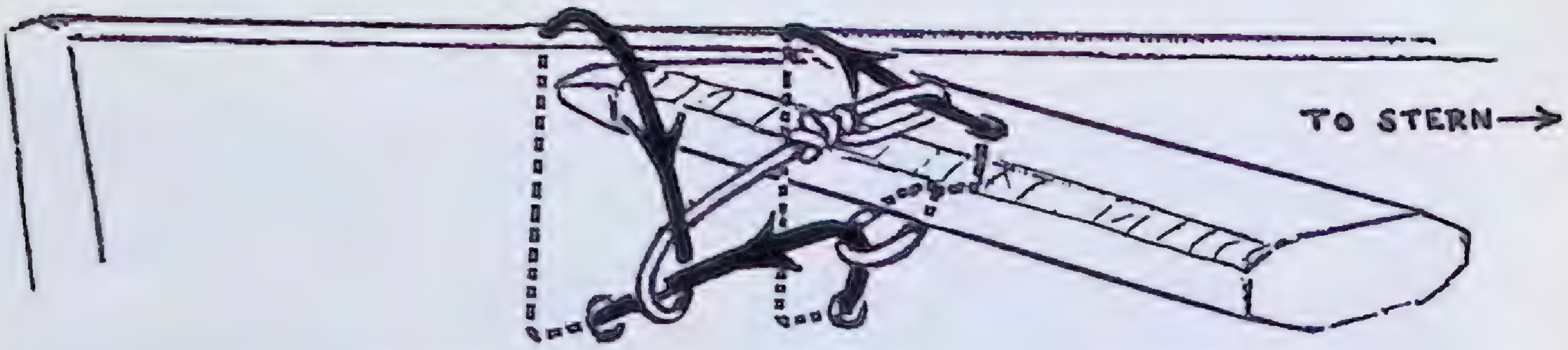


FIGURE 5. Aberrant lashing on the second rearmost 'ayak,' starboard

Friday, Aug. 19. Despite wet and windy weather, Ainalik and Iyaitok ripped and planed two pieces of lathe 2 inches by three-quarters of an inch for the deck stringer, 'tunikjuk,' or 'breast-bone.'

Saturday, Aug. 20. The deck stringer was lashed to the deck beams. The piece forward of the cockpit was put on first. Its end was mortised one inch into the upper front edge of the 'masik,' the arched beam supporting the front of the cockpit coaming. At each beam two holes were made in the deck stringer and connected by a groove on the upper surface to house the lashing. Each pair of holes was set slightly aslant the grain of the wood. Because of a shortage of line, instead of lashing on the deck stringer with one long continuous length, Ainalik and Iyaitok put in separate lashings at each deck beam.

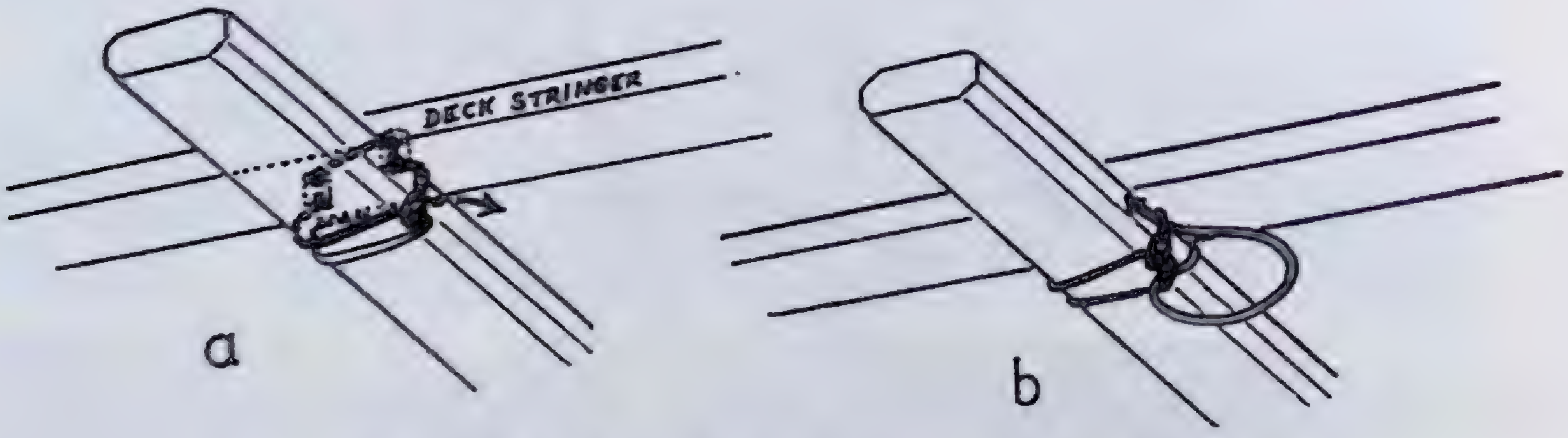
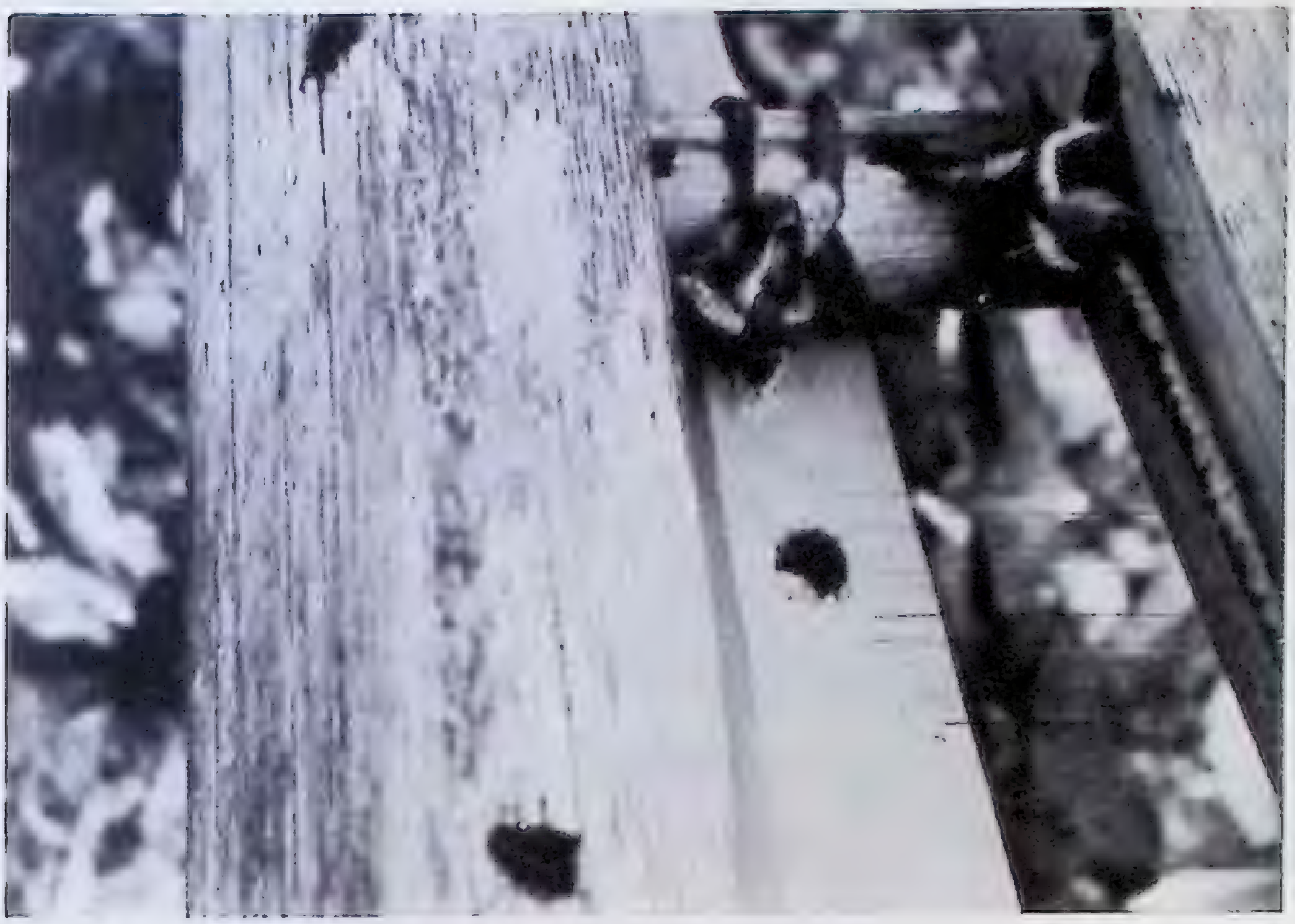


FIGURE 6. Lashing of deck stringer to deck beam

The old bilge stringers were taken off the framework. Renewal of the keel began with the preparation of two pieces, the 'niutak' for the pointed bow section and a shorter length to connect the 'niutak' to the back section of keel retained from the old kayak.

Monday, Aug. 22 (Sunday was a day of rest). The keel was lashed in place. First, the stem end of the 'niutak,' the bow section of the keel, was bound to the gunwales and fastened with screws. Then the rest of it was bent onto the ribs, the V-shaped struts of the bow fitting into concavities cut in its inner surface. The new sections of keel were held in place by a temporary line running back and forth from gunwale to



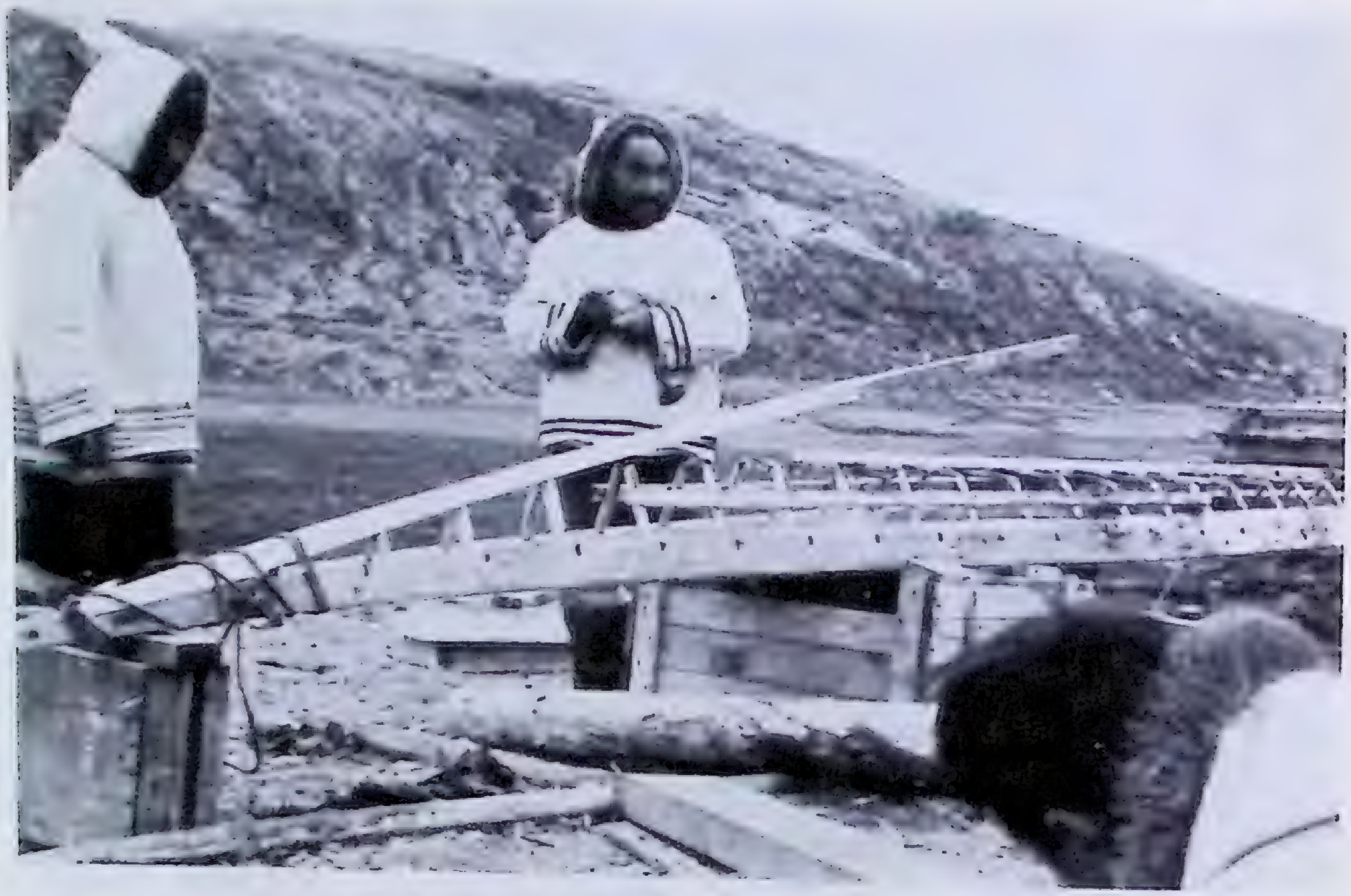
Deck stringer lashing near stem

gunwale. In the prow section the keel was lashed directly to the gunwales in three places between the V-shaped frames (*see* Plate VIIB). The remainder of the keel was lashed to the ribs. At each rib a hole was made in the keel, placed a bit off the mid-line and at the front edge of the rib. A groove for sinking the lashing was cut from the hole to the closer edge of the keel at a slant so that it reached the side of the keel at the back edge of the rib. The hole and the groove were placed on alternate sides of the keel from rib to rib. Because of a shortage of line, each intersection of rib and keel was lashed separately as in the case of the deck stringer.

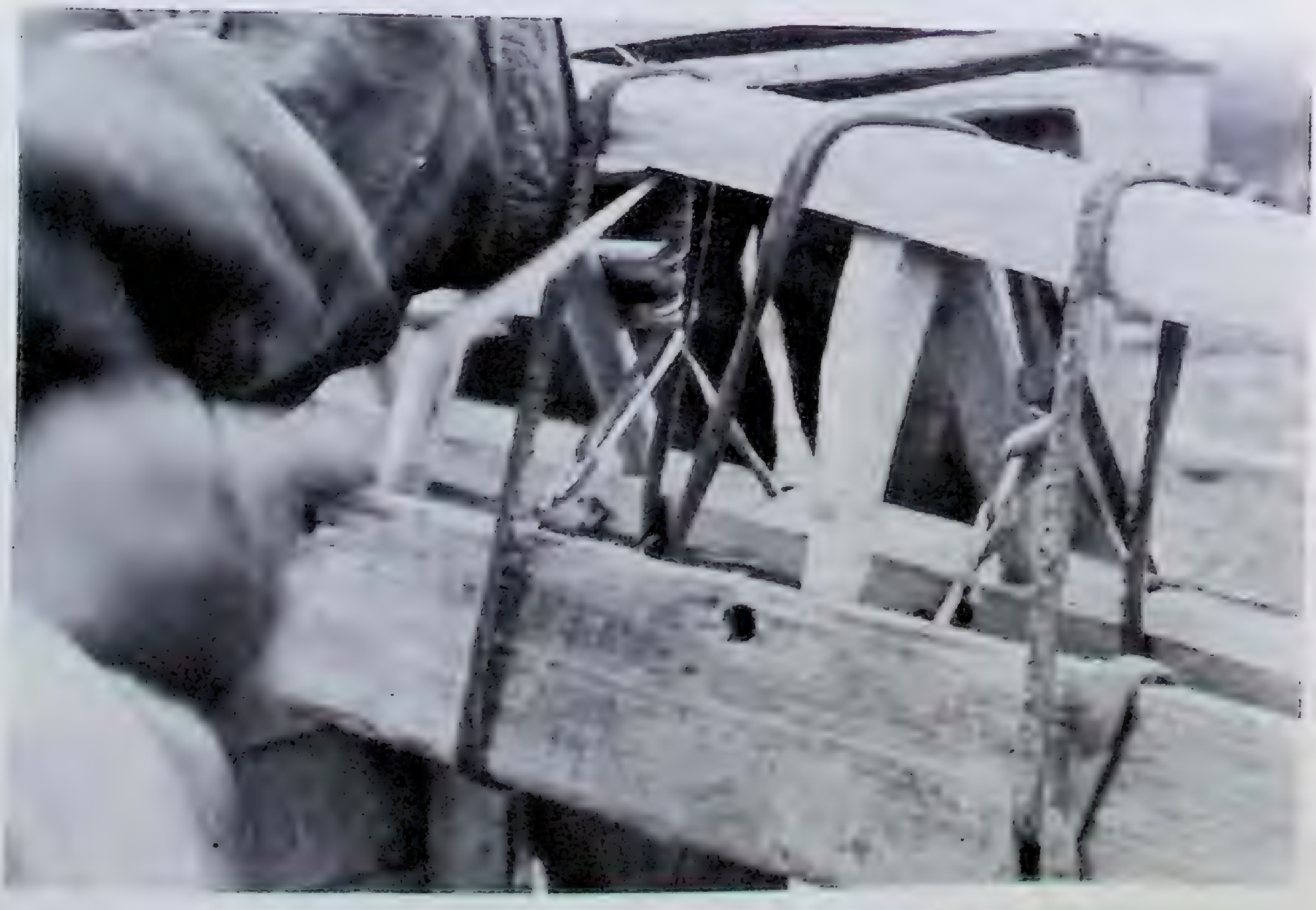
The bilge stringers were then lashed on, again, separately at each rib. Formerly the keel and the bilge stringers had been lashed on by continuous lengths of line running from stern to bow. By fastening many parts together, continuous lashing probably strengthens the framework. The side stringers had not been removed during the rebuilding. They were fastened to the ribs by nails.

Tuesday, Aug. 23. Ainalik completed the lashing of the keel. Iyaitok prepared the cockpit coaming. For the U-shaped front piece he had a roughly 3-inch by 1-inch lathe taken from a slightly curved log. This he steamed for several hours over a cut-down 10-gallon fuel drum three-quarters full of boiling water. Then the wood was bent, its ends being

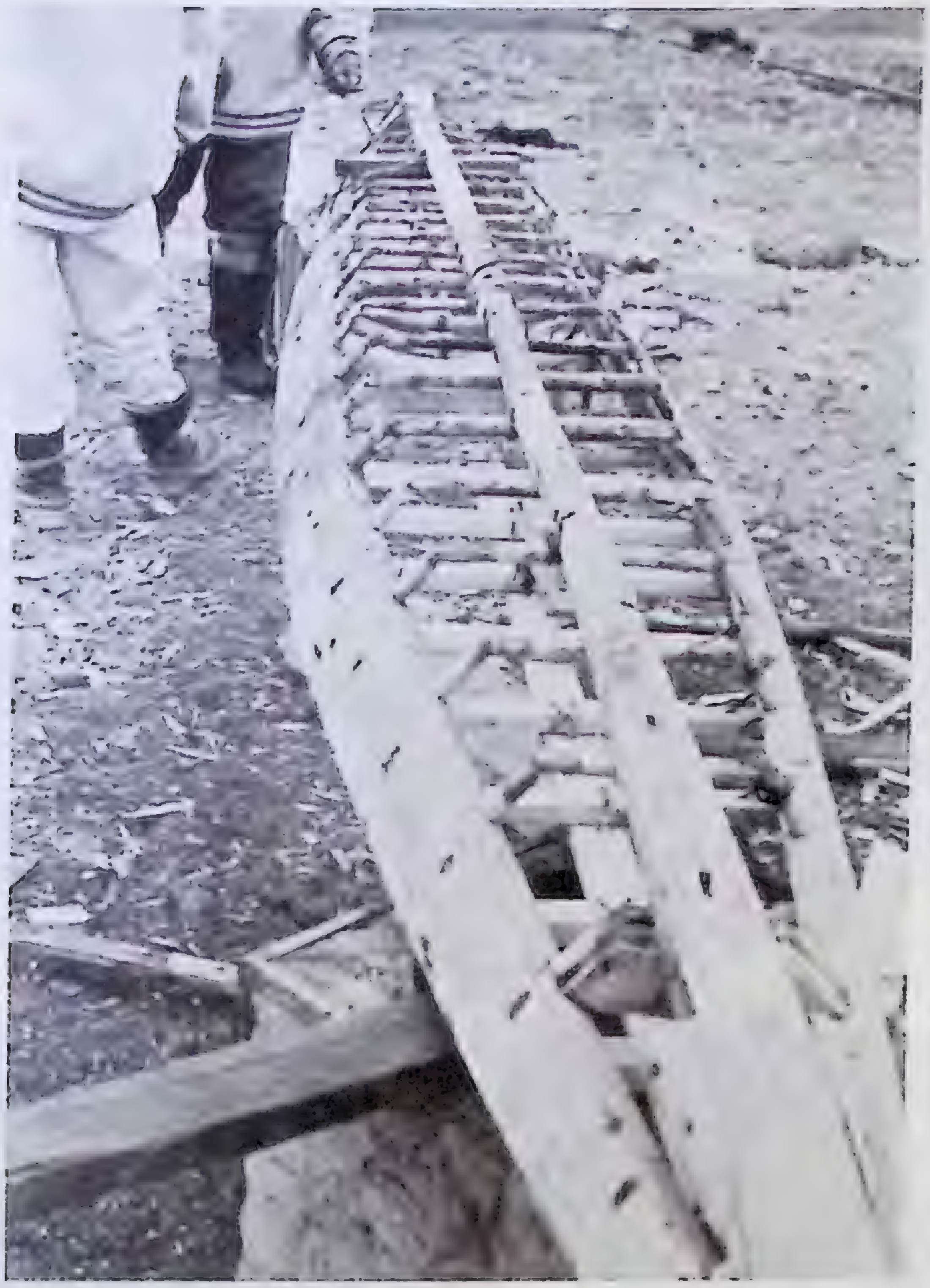
Plate VII



A. New 'niutak'



B. Lashing the 'niutak' to the gunwales

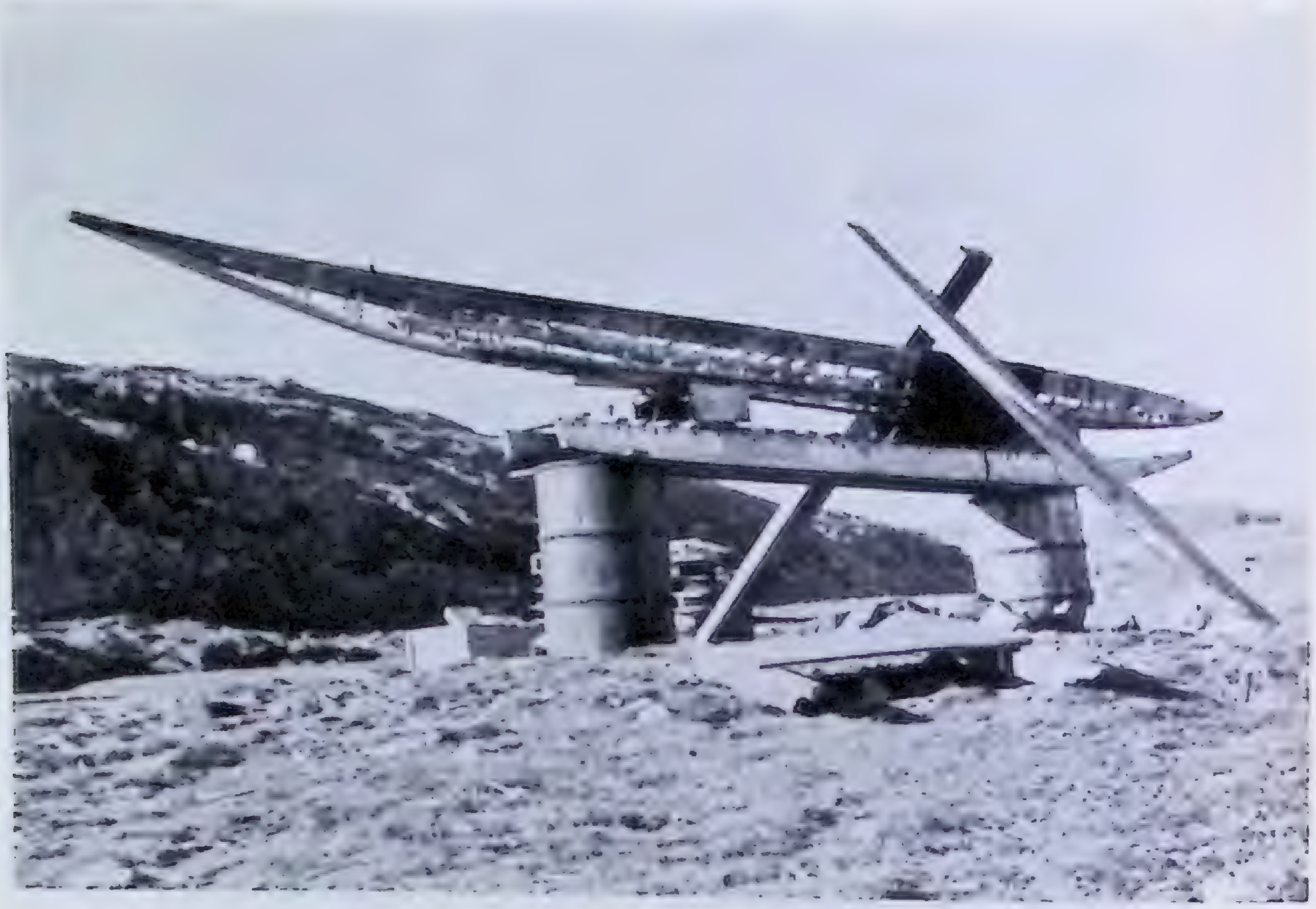


Stern view showing keel with holes and grooves for lashing on alternate sides

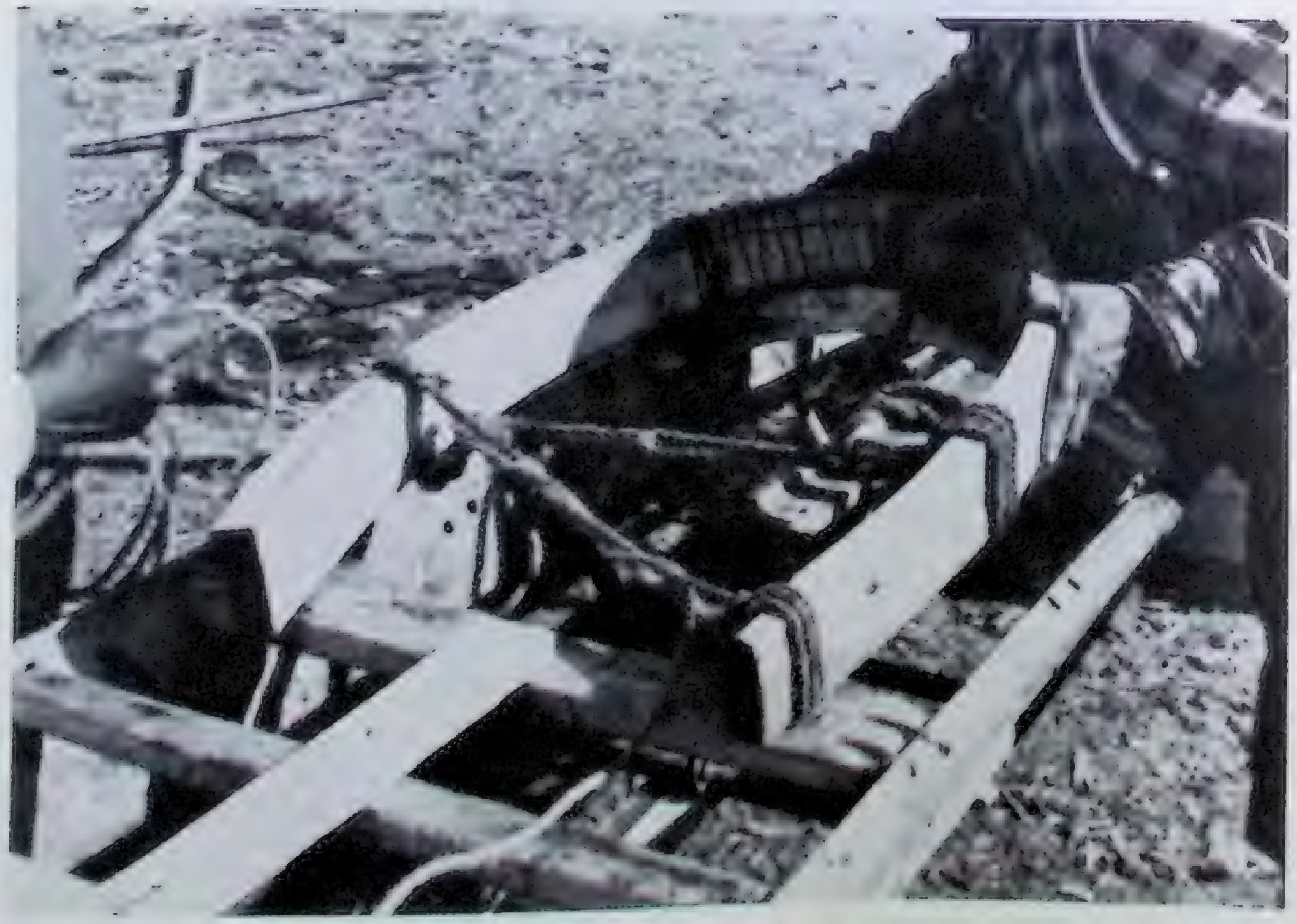
drawn together by a rope pulley. The result was a bit lop-sided. To correct this asymmetry Iyaitok steamed the wood again in the evening for a couple of hours and bent the straight side to match the other. A transverse spreader was inserted, and the wood was left tied up overnight.

Wednesday, Aug. 24. The wood was unbound. It was still unevenly bent. The ends were screwed to the straight back piece of the coaming. On each side a pair of screws ran through a small oblong plate, one antler and the other copper, designed to keep the wood from splintering.

Seven women began working on the skin cover. The bearded and ringed seal skins, three and four respectively, were scraped to remove the fat, hair, and black epidermis. Lengths of thread for the sewing were braided from white whale sinew.



A. Raised out of dogs' reach



B. Cockpit coaming

Thursday, Aug. 25. The skins were sewn together into a piece as long as the kayak by eight women working in Ainalik's house. There were many holes in the two-month-old skins that had to be patched, all, of course, with the laborious waterproof double seam. On the framework Ainalik put in the six seat boards.

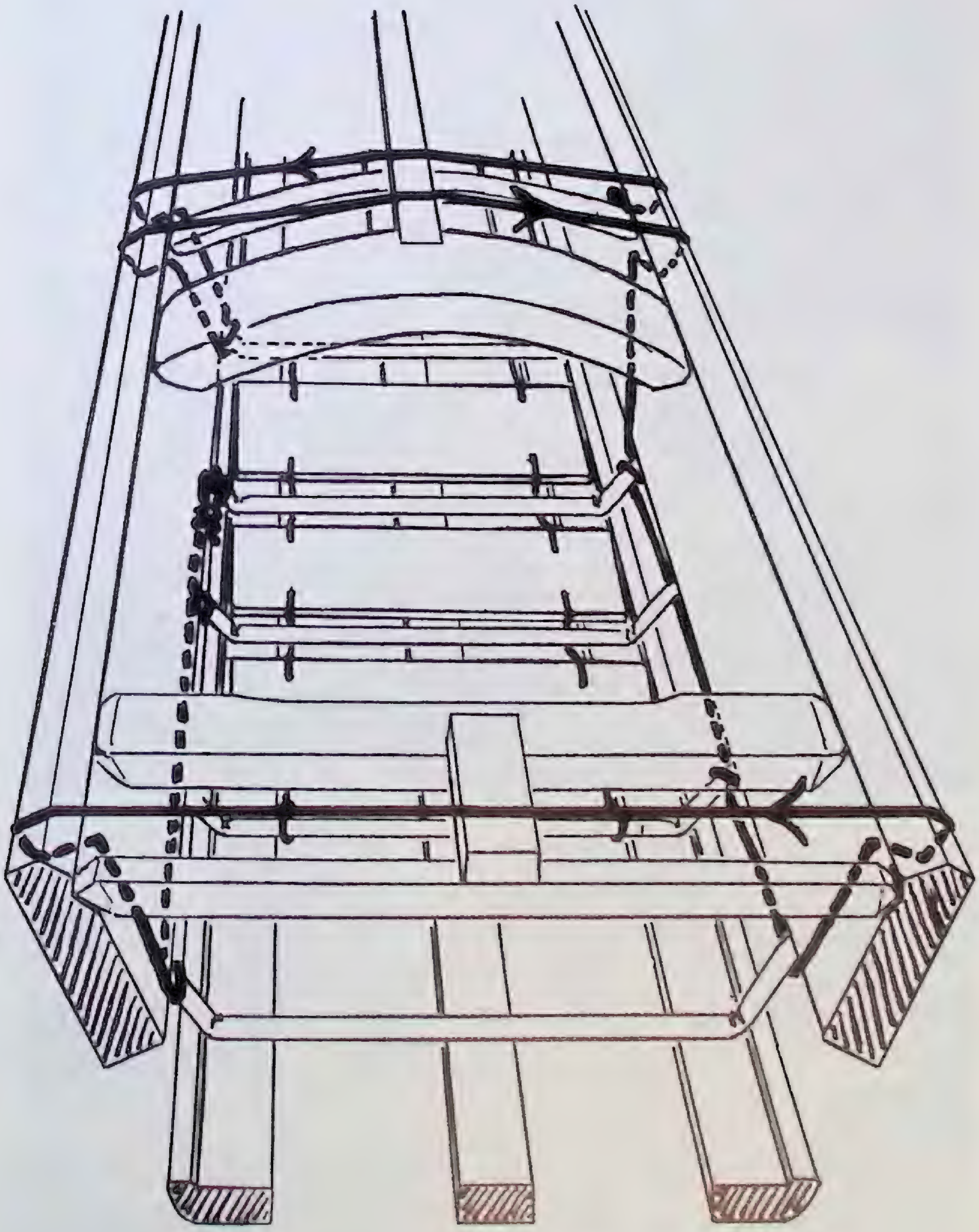


FIGURE 7. Arrangement of deck straps.

Friday, Aug. 26. The cover was sewn onto the framework by fourteen women. The assembled skins were draped over the framework just before noon. At 5 P.M. the covering was finished. The coaming had been attached by a long line laced through it and the edge of the skin at the cockpit. In the coaming were 28 pairs of holes of which 7 pairs were in the straight back piece. They were placed at about 3-inch intervals one-half to one inch below the coaming's upper surface and at a slant across the grain of the wood. On the outside the two holes of each pair were connected by a groove for the lashing, giving a half-inch slot. On the inside they emerged about one inch apart. The deck straps and loops for holding various pieces of equipment were, I believe, added later. The odoriferous renovated kayak was raised up to dry on the Roman Catholic Mission's wind-charger tower out of the reach of the dogs. (Later, at Povungnituk, the dogs did get to taste this kayak, nibbling portions of the starboard gunwale, both skin and wood.)

Dimensions of two Ivuyivik kayaks:	*Ainalik's* ft.	in.	*Okkitok's* ft.	in.
Length: overall	24	2*	23	
stern to back of coaming	8	6	7	8
bow section (approximate)	5½		4	
Beam: (just rear of cockpit) top		25		27
bottom		16½		
Depth (or Height):				
at front of cockpit including coaming		15½		17
at front of cockpit without coaming		12½		15
at front of cockpit space between floor board and deck beam (masik)		9½		11
at back of cockpit including coaming		12¼		13
at back of cockpit without coaming		9½		10
at back of cockpit space between rib and deck beam (itivik)		6		6
Cockpit opening: length within coaming		25¼		24½
length between deck beams (masik and itivik)		23		23
width within coaming		20¾		20½
Paddle: length			11	7

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* Ainalik's kayak was formerly about a foot longer. The former position of the arched beam at the front of the cockpit, 'masik,' is marked by notches in the gunwales 14 inches rear of the present ones.

Wooden parts in Ainalik's kayak:

2 gunwales
1 keel
2 bilge stringers
2 side stringers
2 deck stringers, fore and aft

25 deck beams†: 14 front, 11 back of cockpit
28 ribs*†
1 coaming
6 floor boards**
Total 69 parts (not counting scarfed pieces)

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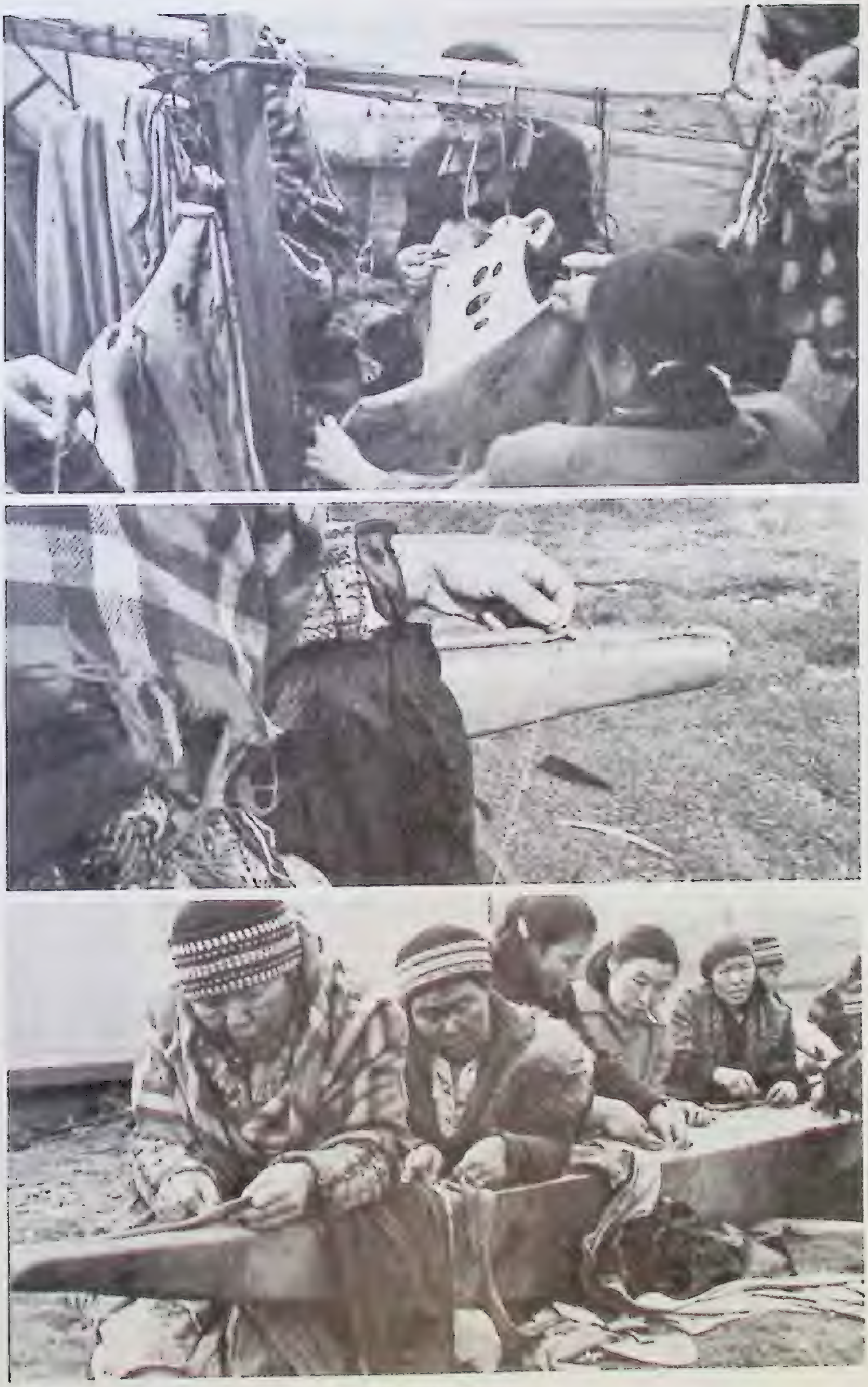
*Ribs vary in thickness from about one inch by half an inch to two inches by one inch. The bottom part is usually heavier than the side parts.

**Floor boards are about 15 inches by 5½ inches to 7 inches wide by half an inch thick.

†Ribs and deck beams are spaced at about every 9 inches along the gunwales.

PLATE X



Sewing the cover

The tip of the stem on Ainalik's kayak rises to a height of 14 inches above the flat bottom. The kayak is 11 inches deep where the bow section meets the main body, i.e., where the keel starts to curve upwards from the flat bottom. The tip of the stern rises very slightly to 7 inches above the bottom from a 6½-inch height just 7 inches forward.

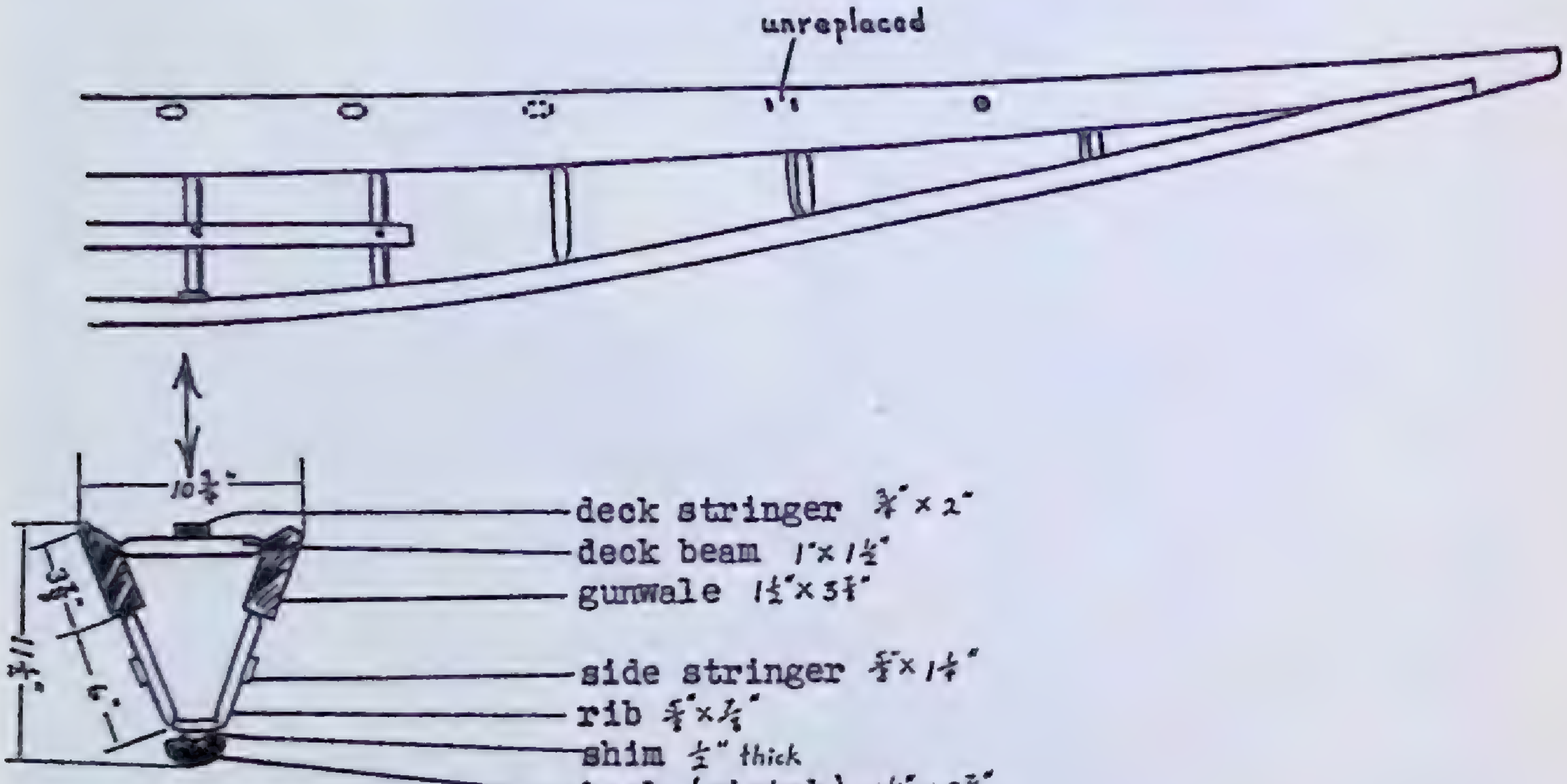


FIGURE 8. Bow framework

COMMENT ON DIMENSIONS AND FORM

About the kayaks of Hudson Strait in the latter part of the nineteenth century Turner writes—

> These boats vary from 18 to 26 feet in length; the greatest width, one-third of the distance aft of the hole where the rower sits, being one-seventh to one-ninth of the entire length of the kaiak. The ends are sharp, the prow much more acute than the stern. The bottom is quite flat and the frame for the keel and the sides at the bottom is arranged similarly to that of the umiak. The prow is simply an extension of the keel and slopes above the water to a height nearly double that of the stern. The slope of the stern is gradual and short . . . The hole for his [occupant's] body is placed between a pair of crossbars where the equilibrium will be best maintained. The hoop of wood which outlines the hole is variable in shape, but resembles half of a short ellipse, the posterior of which is slightly curved to fit the back of the rower (1894: 237–8).

Boas (1888: 486–7) also gives a good description of the kayak of the Nugumiut, Oqomiut, and Akudnirmiut of southeast Baffin Land. He says it is 25 to 27 feet long with the greatest width a little behind the cockpit and weighs from eighty to one hundred pounds.

> The proportion of the bow end to the stern end, measured from the centre of the hole, is 4 to 3. The former has a projection measuring one-fourth of its whole length. Setting aside the projection, the hole lies in the very centre of the body of the kayak.

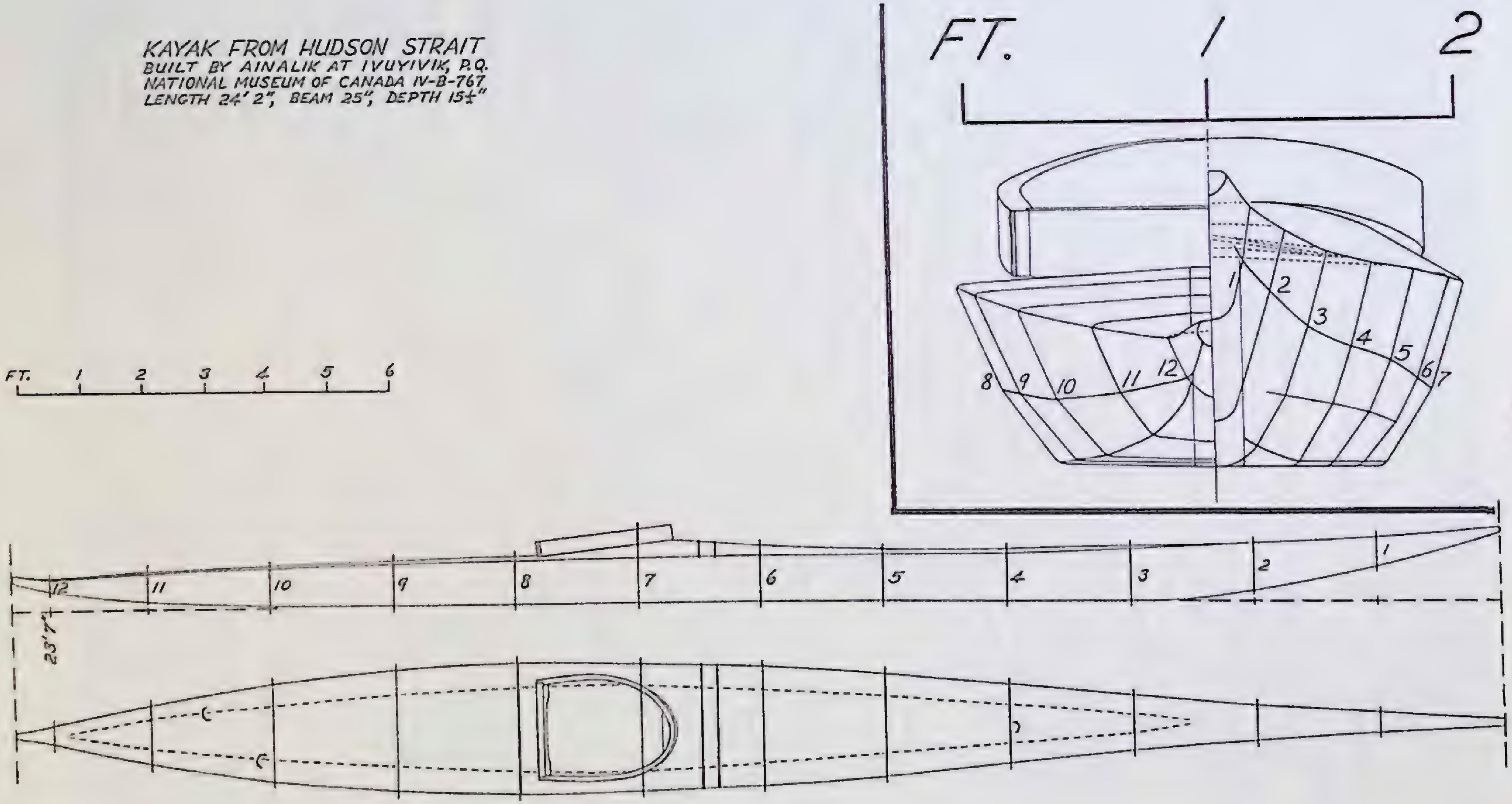

KAYAK FROM HUDSON STRAIT
BUILT BY AINALIK AT IVUYIVIK, P.Q.
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA IV-B-767
LENGTH 24' 2", BEAM 25", DEPTH 15½"
FT. 1 2 3 4 5 6
FT. 1 2
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12
23' 7"

FIGURE 9. Scale diagrams of Ainalik's kayak

There are ten to twenty deck beams and thirty to sixty ribs. The cockpit coaming is a hoop of wood or whalebone sharply bent at the fore part and flattened abaft. Turner (p. 220–2) and Hawkes (1916: 72) describe the use of the waterproof gutskin hooded jacket in rough seas with the bottom capable of being tied around the cockpit coaming by a drawstring.

Of the two Ivuyivik kayaks whose dimensions are given here, Okkitok's is more or less representative of the five now (1960) in use at Ivuyivik, but Ainalik's is an older type, narrower and longer. According to Ainalik, the kayaks were formerly as narrow as his. They were faster and better for hunting without rifles. Even with rifles, the longer narrower craft were better because they kept a straighter course when the paddle was put down and the rifle was being aimed. Since the present kayaks are about two inches wider and a couple of feet shorter, they tend to turn off course when coasting in to the game during the aiming and firing of the rifle. The greatest width in the kayaks of Ainalik and Okkitok is just behind the cockpit, about two-thirds of the way back from the stem. This width is roughly one-twelfth of the total length in Ainalik's kayak, and in Okkitok's, one-tenth. The proportion of the bow end to the stern end, measured from the middle of the cockpit opening between the 'masik' and 'itivik' deck beams, is roughly 4½ to 3 in Ainalik's kayak and 5 to 3 in Okkitok's. As mentioned earlier, Tivi said the 'masik,' which supports the front of the coaming, is at the middle. With the pointed projection of the prow and the short (approx. 6 inches) stern horn not included, Okkitok's kayak has the 'masik' at the middle, but Ainalik's has it placed about a foot forward of the middle. This discrepancy may be the result of a certain arbitrariness on my part in determining the amount of prow projection, especially for Okkitok's kayak, because the projection blends smoothly into the rest of the body and the division between them is not sharply marked. In Okkitok's boat the projection is .18 of the total length; in Ainalik's .23; these figures are somewhat arbitrary of course. As for the height of the top of the stem, i.e., how high it rises relative to the flat bottom of the kayak, it is twice that of the tip of the stern in Ainalik's boat.

The cockpit coaming is now made of two parts: the deep jaw-shaped piece for the front and sides, and the straight back piece. No longer are jackets tied around the coaming. There seems to be little kayaking in rough seas nowadays. Rifles probably were the important factor in bringing about the discontinuation of tieing down the jacket to the coaming. The rifles are kept within the cockpit at the sides of the kayaker with the muzzles pointing out over the back of the coaming and trigger side up.

Iyaitok was acquainted with kayaks along the coast between Great Whale River and Payne Bay. He said kayaks were the same—long and heavy, taking two men to lift—from Cape Smith, about 125 miles south of Ivuyivik, to the Payne River, about 300 miles down Hudson Strait. His knowledge did not extend beyond Payne River. From Povungnituk to Port Harrison kayaks were smaller and lighter. Six or seven ringed seal skins covered their length. According to Ainalik and Mangiok, E 9-1016, they were as wide as the Ivuyivik kayaks but much shorter with smaller cockpit openings which made it necessary to keep the rifle between the legs. The story was, of course, that a man could be shot in the vitals this way. The cockpits are now as wide as those of Ivuyivik. Being much lighter, a Povungnituk kayak could be carried by one man putting his forearm in the cockpit. It used to be used for fishing and hunting (birds and caribou) inland. Iyaitok said that kayaks were smaller still from Port Harrison to Great Whale River but that on the Belcher Islands there were large kayaks wider and bigger inside than the Ivuyivik craft, though not so long. Inland kayaks of the Port Harrison – Great Whale River region were larger than the coastal ones, being covered with about nine ringed seal skins, according to Johnny Pov., E 9-1469, at Povungnituk. Sometimes a passenger was carried inside the front half, feet to the bow. In similar fashion a man might be carried inside the Cape Smith kayak which apparently was slightly deeper and wider than the Ivuyivik one.

Terms for Kayak Parts and Accessories*

Parts:

sivuoyak – stem
ushuyak – bow projection
paa – cockpit
ahoyak – stern
qanga – top
ataa – bottom
saniga – side
aponmak (Ainalik, '*apinmak*') – gunwales
ayak – transverse deck beam holding apart the gunwales
masik – heavy curved deck beam supporting the front of the cockpit coaming
masir̲osigik – lighter curved deck beam, of which there are usually two or three placed in front of the 'masik' to form a gradual transition to the straight 'ayak'
itivik – deck beam at the back of the cockpit, usually heavier than an 'ayak'
tunikjuk – deck stringer, meaning 'breast bone'
tikpik – rib
kuyak – keel

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* My rough phonetic transcription in the main represents sounds as in R. C. Gagné's "Tentative standard orthography for Canadian Eskimo," Ottawa, 1961, but deviates from Gagné in some consonant clusters among other things. Also /u/, high rounded back vowel, and /o/, higher mid rounded back vowel, are differentiated, as I seemed to hear a distinction between them. I had some difficulty hearing the voiced uvular fricative /r̲/ and the difference between the velar and uvular stops, /k/ and /q/. My main informant, Ainalik̄, stuttered and gave some idiosyncratic pronunciations which have been noted where I was aware of them.

sianik –bilge stringer

kiuaqjutak – side stringer

niutak – prow section of the keel

ingosiak – floor board of which there are several for sitting on

paliqviq – cockpit coaming

iqirq – pliant sappy grain in a tree used for bending into the coaming. It is reddish in colour and darker than the surrounding wood.

paaliktuk – lashings lacing the skin cover to the coaming

amiq – skin cover

kidlu – seam

uigok – sewing of waterproof double seams in assembling the skins into one long piece for the cover

amiaktok – sewing of waterproof double seams on the deck when the cover is put on the framework

tutchutik – fine zigzagging line with which the cover is drawn tightly around the framework before the 'amiaktok' sewing

pujak – thick rancid seal oil used to stop the seams

takak – thong strap across the deck to hold various implements. There is a pair in front of the cockpit, one just behind the cockpit, and sometimes one several feet behind the cockpit.

qidluyivik – short thongs, of which there are two, connecting the pair of 'takak' in front of the cockpit. The paddle can be slipped under them when so desired.

qidluyuvik – small loop sewn on the cover to hold the ends of long implements slipped under the 'takak.' It is usually set at an angle for ease in withdrawing harpoon, lance, etc. Two were placed on the deck several feet behind the cockpit on Ainalik's kayak. One was placed several feet in front of the cockpit for the harpoon. (I hope I haven't confused '*qidluyuvik*' with 'qidluyivik' above.)

Accessories (weapons and related gear):

pautik – double-bladed paddle. Its length was such that when one end was placed under the pair of deck straps before the cockpit, the other end projected a couple of feet beyond the stem. It would slap against the deck when the kayak was on a sled.

ivootik – bone edging formerly on the tips of the paddle blades. It was sharpened for silence in cutting into the water. The prow section of the keel used to be sharpened as well.

kodlosiut – drip ring, formerly of thong, now of rope, placed around the paddle between the blades and the centre 'handle' section

qodlovik – mat of grass, thin wood (strips?), or seaweed, 'qirqoa,' placed on the deck before the cockpit to silence the water dripping from the paddle when approaching sleeping game. The area of paddle dripping on the cover is called 'qogluavik.'

igimak – heavy harpoon with curved walrus tusk foreshaft for hunting walrus, seals (Boas, 1888: 489) and white whales (Turner, 1894: 238). Hawkes calls it the sealing harpoon, 'nau'leq' (1916: 74), and applies 'igimu'k' to its wooden shaft. At Ivuyivik 'naulak' is the head of the present all-purpose light harpoon, 'unaq.' Ainalik called the curved foreshaft 'i'imak.' Often two tusks were scarfed together with two nails or, in earlier times, strips of lead, because for a foreshaft in one piece a very large tusk was needed.

kaatik – ivory head on the wooden shaft with a concave depression to receive the foreshaft

kiuktak – wooden main shaft on any weapon

nuvotik – ivory tip on rear end of the wooden shaft

tikaagok – bone projection on the side of the wooden shaft which acts as a stop for the hand in throwing. The little finger pushes against it. With the killing spear, 'angovigak,' the 'tikaagok' seems to have been placed between the index and middle fingers.

tokak – large harpoon point for the 'igimak' of ivory or bone with a steel blade, 'savilik' historically

alirq – harpoon line on the 'tokak.' Its length varied somewhat, but for hunting from the kayak, it was not long, perhaps five or six armspans, of which length not all would be thrown.

tadla – loop on the 'alirq' which fits on a small projection on the wooden shaft, keeping the harpoon on the foreshaft. Often a piece of ivory with a hole in it is attached to the harpoon line for this purpose.

talitvik – small ivory projection on the wooden shaft which holds the 'tadla'

avatak – sealskin float. It was the nickname of the round-bottomed icebreaker "N. B. McLean."

poviqvik – short ivory tube (wood is unsuitable) bound in the mouth of the sealskin float for blowing it up

poviutak – wood plug to stop the 'poviqvik'

sinigoak – loop at the tail of the float holding a wooden toggle to which the harpoon line is tied

niutaq – drag attached to the harpoon line for walrus, white whale, and bearded seal. It was a circular wooden hoop covered with skin. For smaller seals the float alone was sufficient.

angovigak – killing lance for walrus and bearded seal. Like the heavy harpoon it had a mainshaft of heavy wood tipped with ivory at the back end, a projection on the side to act as a stop for the index finger, a straight ivory foreshaft, 'angovigak,' set with a metal blade point, and an ivory head on the mainshaft to receive the foreshaft.

nuiq – bird dart. Light wood was used for the shaft. Ainalik said that from the throwing stick it flew as fast as an arrow. Around Ivuyivik a lot of 'akpa,' thick-billed murres, were taken with it. It might also be used for baby bearded seal, 'tiridlo.' It was used more at Ivuyivik than around Povungnituk.

savuaq – front prong on the bird spear. Ainalik knew only of metal prongs.

aaq – three prongs at the middle of the shaft

noqsaq – throwing stick. Peg angle affects dart direction, e.g. to make dart fly further right, elevate peg, and vice versa

niqchiq – long-handled hook for retrieving game in the water. The handle had several notches cut in it along one side forming 'hooks' pointing towards the hook proper. These catches were for pulling game out of the back end of the kayak. For the same reason the handle end was made in a crescent-shaped claw. This also served to stow and remove food, dried meat and oil, kept in the front of the kayak. The 'niqchiq' was also used to roll walrus carcasses on land. Turner mentions its use as a grappling hook for retrieving sunken animals and its importance when the kayak was going through narrow channels among ice (1894: 240).

Position of Various Implements on the Kayak

The bird dart and its thrower were in front of the kayaker on the left-hand side of the deck secured under the cross straps. To the left rear was the killing lance; to the right rear, the long-handled hook. Knives and the 'kalotik,' a seal towing hook to be mentioned later, were kept inside. The heavy harpoon, the 'igimak,' when not in use was on the front deck on the right side. Its float and drag were on the deck behind the kayaker. At Cape Smith, at least, the line attached to the float lay coiled behind the hunter on the right side of the deck. When its use was imminent, the big harpoon was placed within easy reach of the right hand on two special rests, the distinctively shaped ivory or wood 'inamik' tied to the right side of the cockpit coaming by a short thong, and the T-shaped wooden 'unakiviq' secured under the front deck straps. The harpoon was cradled on these two rests with its point to the rear. The line from the float, which passed along the right side of the cockpit coaming, was coiled on the deck in front of the hunter just before the paddle drip pad. From the coil it lead, of course, to the harpoon. A receptacle for the line such as Boas (1888: 492) and Hawkes (1916: 73) mention for south Baffinland and Labrador respectively was not included in the kayak's equipment by Ainalik and Manikulu. Around Ivuyivik the line receptacle may have gone out of use about the turn of the century or have been an optional piece of equipment.[1] Of the line at Ungava Bay, Turner simply says: "usually left

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[1] The Cape Wolstenholme kayak (IV-B-494) collected by Hawkes in 1914 has a harpoon line rack (IV-B-490).

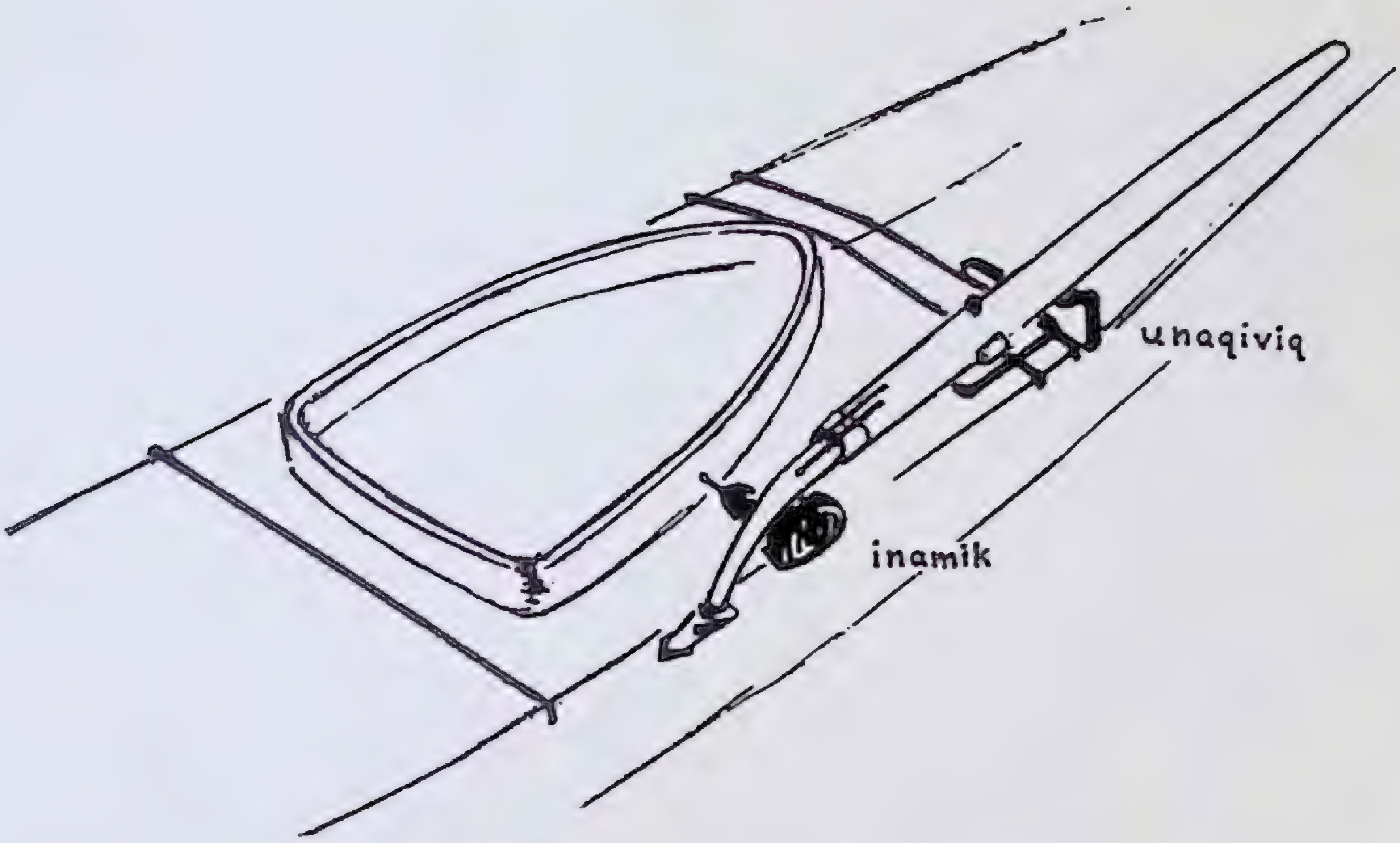

FIGURE 10. 'Igimak' in position for use (line not shown)

lying in a coil just in front of the hunter" (1894: 487). For walrus the 'igimak' was thrown when the animal was alongside the kayak, just beyond the paddle's end. If allowed closer in, the walrus would upset the kayak. In throwing, the 'igimak' was held with the foreshaft curving upwards and the line free of the hand, according to Manikulu.

Speaking of Cape Smith kayaks, Manikulu placed the long-handled hook on the left front deck, the heavy harpoon at the right front, the killing spear at the right rear, and at the left rear a length of ordinary wood. The float sat between this lathe and the killing spear. If game was carried on the back deck, the float was put inside the front end. If the sea became rough, the float was held on the rear deck by a short line, 'nahidlugok,' with small loops at the ends through which passed the lathe and the killing spear. The coil of harpoon line was tucked slightly under the deck strap behind the kayaker or put under the paddle drip silencer mat in front.

Towing Sea Mammals

Ringed seals were towed by means of the 'kalotik,' which consisted of a hook connected by a short line to a small board. The board was anchored under the front pair of deck straps. The hook was passed through the upper lip of the seal, and it was good to have it a little long.

A bearded seal was towed by means of the harpoon line alone passed through the upper lip. The line should extend from the front deck straps to several feet past the stern.

Walrus was also towed with the harpoon line through the lip. The float was inserted under a strip of belly skin and inflated so that the walrus floated on its back. Otherwise, there would be too much weight and drag.

The towing of white whale and harp seal is not covered in my notes. However, I have seen two white whales being towed in to the settlement at Ivuyivik by kayaks. Each was being towed in a position by the back part of the kayak on the starboard side. The paddlers made hardly any progress against the tide that was going out of the bay and pulled in to shore after several minutes of fruitless exertion.

Carrying Game

Seals could be carried inside. A big kayak could hold one large bearded seal or, perhaps, two small ones in the rear. With a bearded seal inside, the kayak rode lower, of course, and the water came up level with the back deck. The number of smaller seals that could be carried inside varied with the size of the seals. A seal was put inside 'feet first' because if it froze stiff while inside, its arms might get caught on the ribs, and then it would be very hard to take out. Seals were also carried on the deck. According to Manikulu of the Cape Smith region, if a seal was placed lengthwise on the deck, it would roll off when the kayak got moving. If placed crosswise, its head and tail would drag in the water. Consequently, the seal was tied in a slightly doubled up position and placed across the deck. The head and the tail were drawn toward each other by a line passed through the eyes (a finger can easily be poked through the eye openings and under the skin in between) and through a cut in the web part of a flipper. The line was not drawn too tight because if the head and tail were brought too close together, the seal became a rounded ball which again would tend to roll off the deck. The Cape Smith kayak, which was a bit deeper and wider than the Ivuyivik craft, could carry ten ringed seals: three inside the back, two inside the front, three on the back deck, and two on the front deck. So many seals could be carried only if there was no wind. When it was windy, a maximum load would have perhaps two less on the deck, leaving eight seals.

Other things besides seals were carried by the kayak, of course. At Ivuyivik, a man can occasionally be seen returning from his nets with several char lined up on his back deck. Fish might be carried inside too: Johnny Pov. related how on the travels inland in the Port Harrison – Great Whale River region when he was young, a man would troll from the kayak with a long line tied to his wrist, and when he caught a fish would kill it over the head of Johnny, who was inside, and tell him to stow it in the front end.

ADDITIONAL MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

When beached, kayaks have to be kept out of the reach of dogs. At present they are raised five feet or more off the ground on scaffoldings of wood. In the past, rocks were piled to give two pillars spaced two armspans apart. An example of such a kayak stand, 'qayaqovik,' may be seen a few miles south of Ivuyivik by a place called Tunnuyak. Two persons were needed to carry the large kayak of the Hudson Strait. The man would lead with the stern, and the woman followed with the stem. Before stepping into the craft, the kayaker wiped his boots clean, for sand and small pebbles between the framework and the cover would wear holes in the skins. In cold weather a bone knife, 'singmichuit,' was carried to take off the ice which forms on the back.

According to Ainalik, the kayak was used for hunting all sea mammals, even the large whales. He said the umiak was too slow and noisy with its oars for hunting.[1] He did not know of the use of paddles in umiaks, but he did say that the whaleboats of the white whalers had been paddled. This came up in connection with his mother's brother who died on a whaler called "Arctic." In whaling from kayaks the big harpoon with short line and float and the heavy killing lance were used. The surfaced whale would be approached at first by one kayak only and harpooned. Then the other kayaks could approach for the kill. Since the mouth of a dead whale would fall open, it was tied shut. Walrus were dangerous, causing the death of some kayakers. Polar bears, however, were slow and not fearsome for hunting from kayaks. They could not sink. When there is no need for silence, the paddle is rested on the cockpit coaming, sliding along its front edge a little with each stroke. For speed, the kayak is rocked with each stroke onto its corners where the flat bottom meets the sides.

PRESENT WEAPONS

At present (1960) the weapons mentioned so far are no longer used. The hunter sets out in his kayak with a rifle or two (a heavy calibre and a .22) and perhaps the modern harpoon. He might also take along a skinning knife made with a triangular double-edged blade from a saw.

The present harpoon, 'unaq,' is a light, sort of all-purpose harpoon used for retrieving sea mammals shot in the water and for testing the ice, which around Ivuyivik has hidden weak spots worn thin underneath by currents. The wooden mainshaft is a smoothed lathe several feet long, about 2 inches thick, and perhaps slightly tapered to the ends. Sometimes it is simply a length of 1-inch by 2-inch lumber with the corners rounded off. At both ends are steel rods of perhaps half an inch in diameter. They are driven into holes of slightly smaller diameter, bored several inches deep into the wooden mainshaft. Metal bands are fitted around the ends of the wooden shaft to keep them from splitting. The foreshaft rod is about 1½ feet long and is carefully tapered at the tip to fit correctly into the harpoon head. The rear prong used for testing ice is somewhat shorter and has a sharpened point. Near the point of balance of the harpoon, a wood or ivory projection, 'tikaagok,' is tied or nailed to the side of the wooden shaft as a stop for the hand. According to Manikulu, the position of the 'tikaagok' is determined by holding the harpoon horizontally so that it balances on the middle finger. Then with the harpoon shaft grasped, the 'tikaagok's place is against the thumb, i.e., about 2 inches behind the point of balance. The 'tikaagok' is so placed that when the harpoon is thrown, it will go as far as possible, and its front end will tend to point downwards. If the 'tikaagok' is placed right at the point of balance, in the sudden throwing motion the harpoon may slip back a little in the hand, putting the centre of balance to the rear of the point of thrust and resulting in a short throw. Also the harpoon will fly with its nose up.

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[1] Manikulu of the Cape Smith region said that the umiak was used for hunting all game except the whale, which he did not know about. The weapon used was the big harpoon. Since it could be thrown farther from an umiak than from a kayak, its line could be longer, perhaps about ten armspans. When an animal was harpooned, the float was thrown out in a hurry as even a relatively slight jerk might dislodge the harpoon head. Hunting walrus was sometimes scary because the umiak was slow. It was propelled by four oars manned by men and women.

naulak – head for the light harpoon, 'unaq.' The modern metal 'naulak' with tail and side barbs is used for all sea mammals: seals, walrus, white whales. There seemed to be two sizes in 'naulaks,' the smaller being designed for use against the smaller seals.

savilik – steel blade of the 'naulak,' usually prepared from a saw blade.

pamiak – tail barbs or 'spurs'

isaroyak – side barbs

itiq - tail hole for the harpoon foreshaft

ijialikvik – tranverse hole for the line

ijia – line loo or 'leader' which passes through the 'ijialikvik'

ipirak – harpoon line. Its length varies with the user. A strong-armed man might be able to use about ten armspans. The line is held loosely coiled in the left hand. Its end is tied to the left wrist or upper arm by a running noose. At the harpoon it looped twice around the shaft at the hand stop, so that when the head detaches from the harpoon, the shaft will stay on the line.

Manufacture of a 'naulak'

Iyaitok turned out a 'naulak' from a thick iron spike in about one and a half days. His tools were files, a hacksaw, brace and bit, and a vise. The overall size of the 'naulak' was set at a handsbreadth by grasping the spike. The general outline of the harpoon head was blocked out with a file. The two holes, tail and transverse, were drilled out. The side barbs were cut in with the hacksaw. The tail hole was drilled close against the tail barbs so that a slight groove was made down the centre of them. Ainalik said that this groove in the tail is often put in with a file after the hole was drilled. The foreshaft fits along this groove as well as in the hole itself. To ensure that his tail hole is set into the tail barbs, Ainalik drills it before the tail is filed out. This, of course, means drilling through an extra three-quarter inch or so of metal. Also, Ainalik said that he made his tail hole about twice as deep as most of the other local craftsmen. Iyaitok made this hole three-eighths of an inch deep with a five-sixteenth-inch diameter. The transverse hole, also five-sixteenths of an inch in diam-

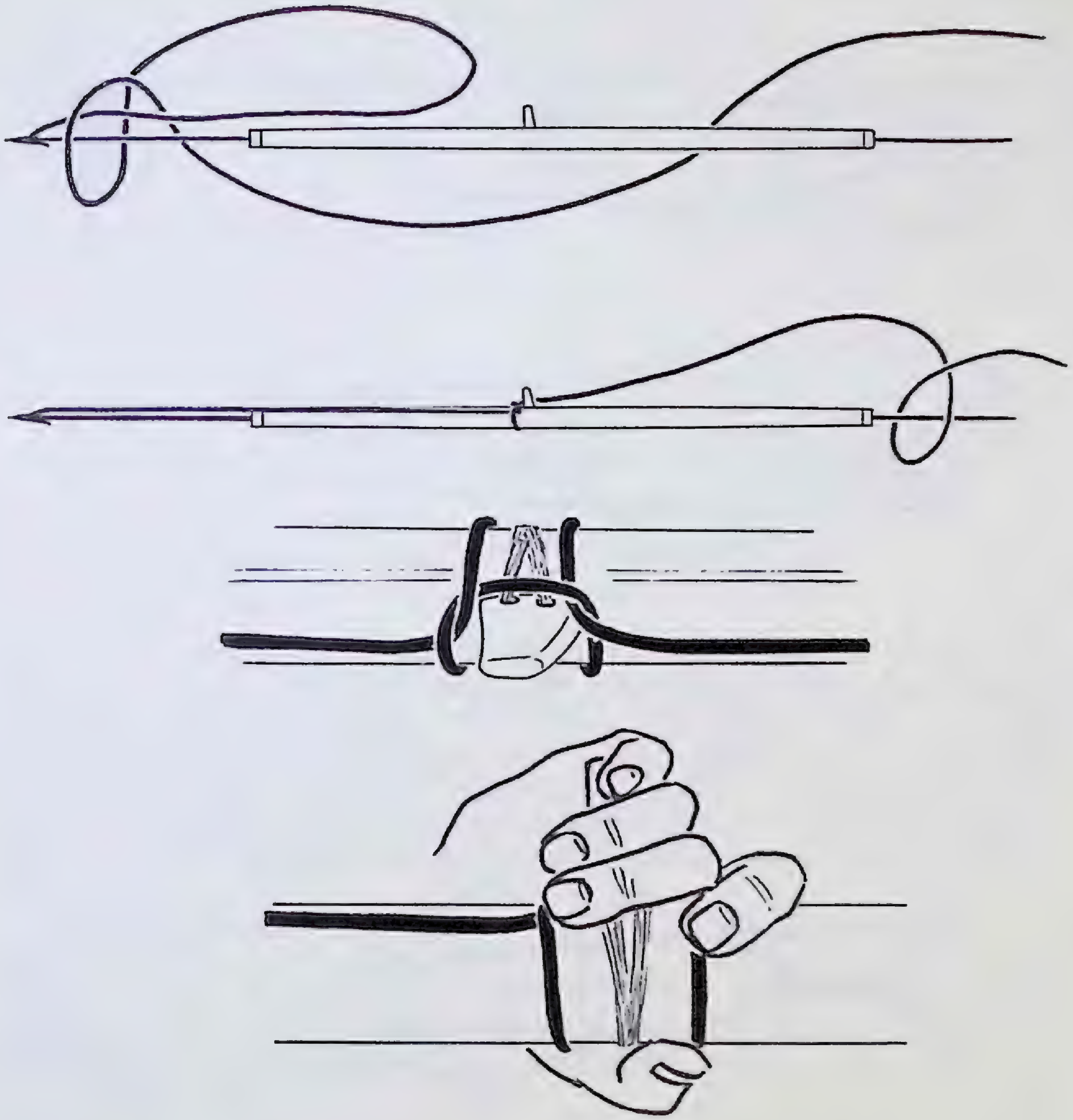

Figure 11: Present harpoon: *top*: Attachment of line; *bottom*: A grip for distance in throwing

eter, had its edges smoothly rounded off, the rear edges especially, to avoid cutting the line. The point, 'savilik,' was a trapezium-shaped piece broken out of a fragment of saw blade with vise and hammer. It was held in a transverse groove at the front of the 'naulak' with a slender nail, filed flush with the surface. For this pin a hole was drilled in the saw blade point. Because the steel was too hard for the drills on hand, a corner was knocked off a file and used as a bit in the brace. The tips of the barbs were blunted slightly because needle sharp points were undesirable. The blade point was given a sharp edge of course. Metal 'naulaks' used to be made without side barbs, possibly after some earlier ivory or antler form. The example illustrated (Figure 15) is of brass.

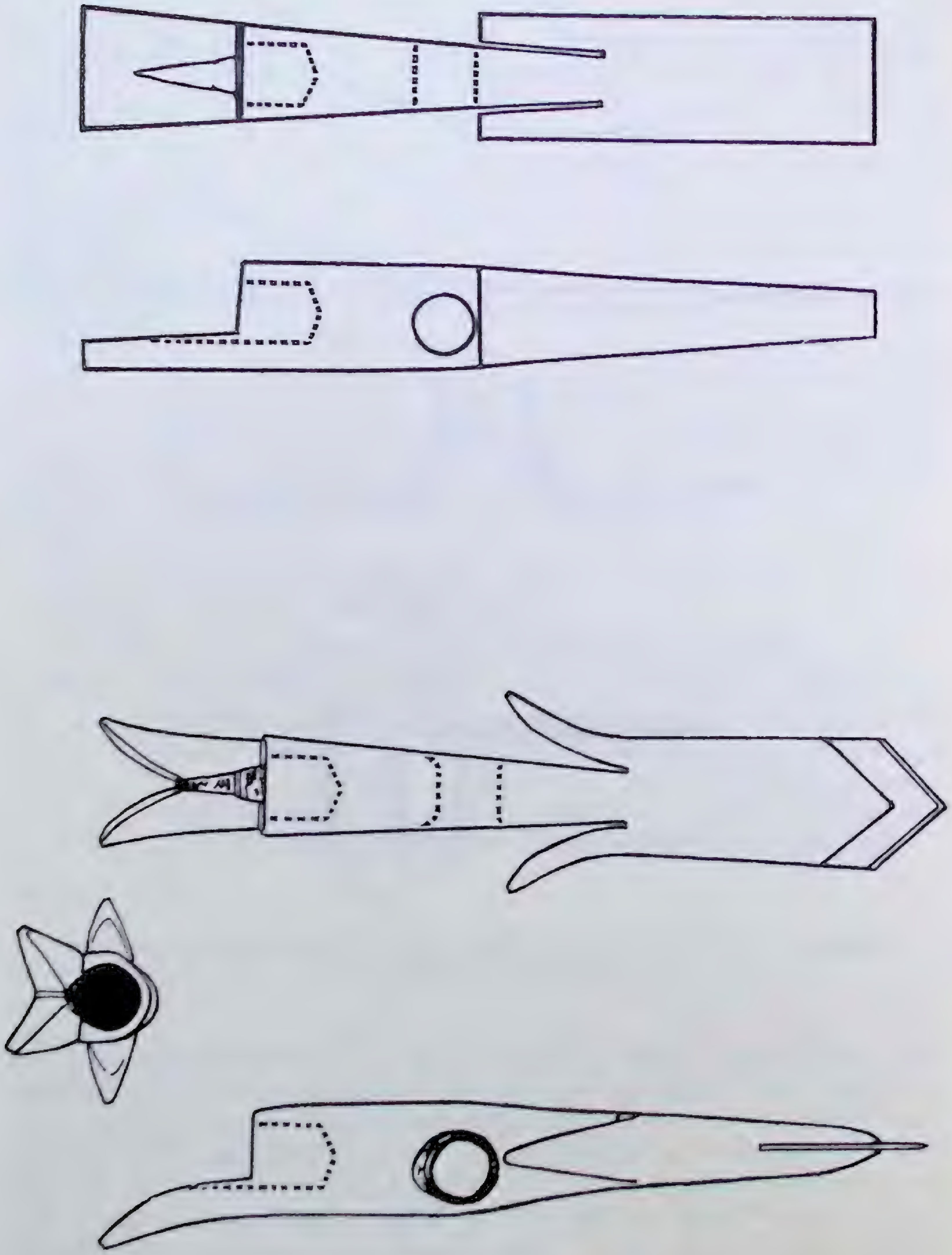

Figure 12. 'Naulak' by Iyaitok ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

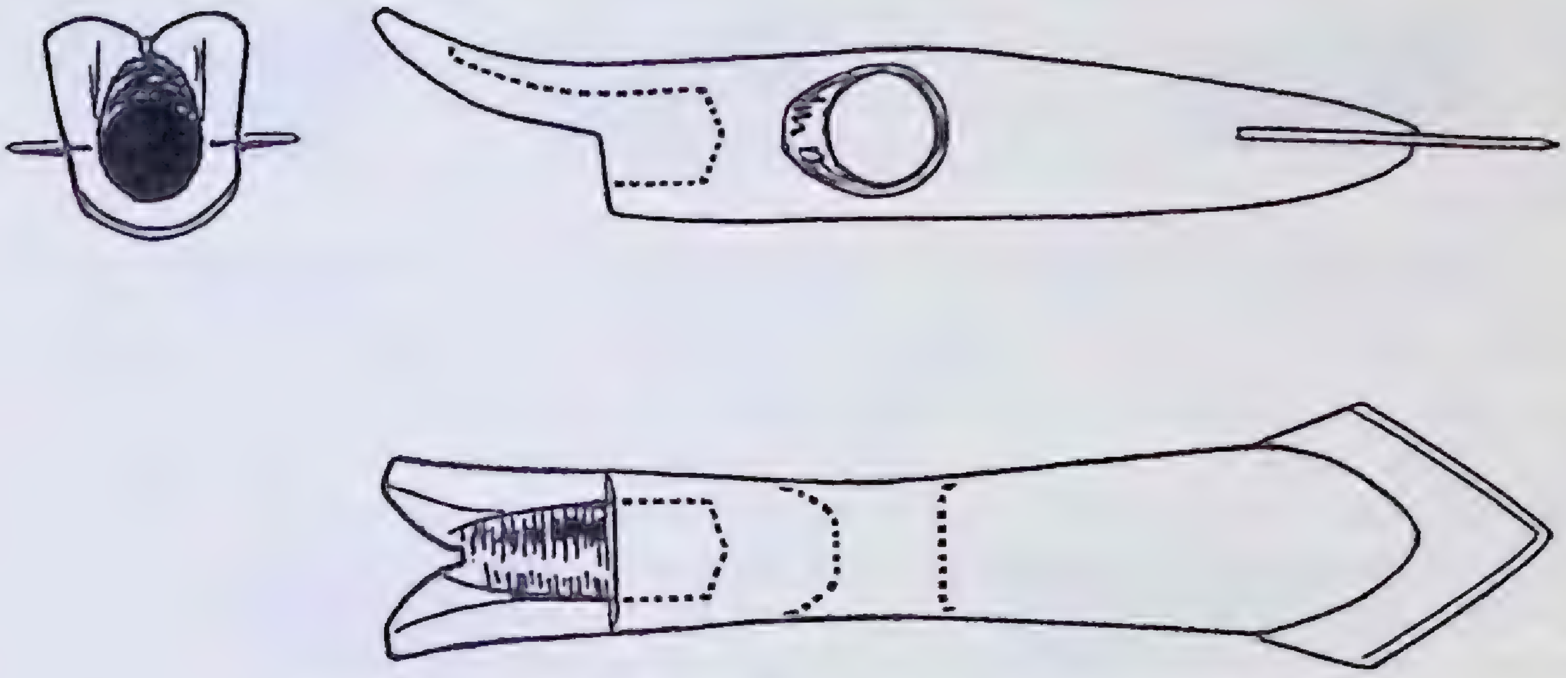

FIGURE 13. Brass 'naulak' without side barbs (3½ in.)

Firearms and sights

The Ivuyivik hunters modify the sights on the rifles they buy at the store. Most of the rifles come with open iron sights of the standard sporting types. The men consider the notch in the factory-made rear sight generally too wide and too deep, and the front sight too thick. Also they prefer to have the rear sight farther forward than is customary with us, saying that it makes the notch finer and more clearly visible. For the same reasons, in shooting the eye is often kept as far back along the butt as

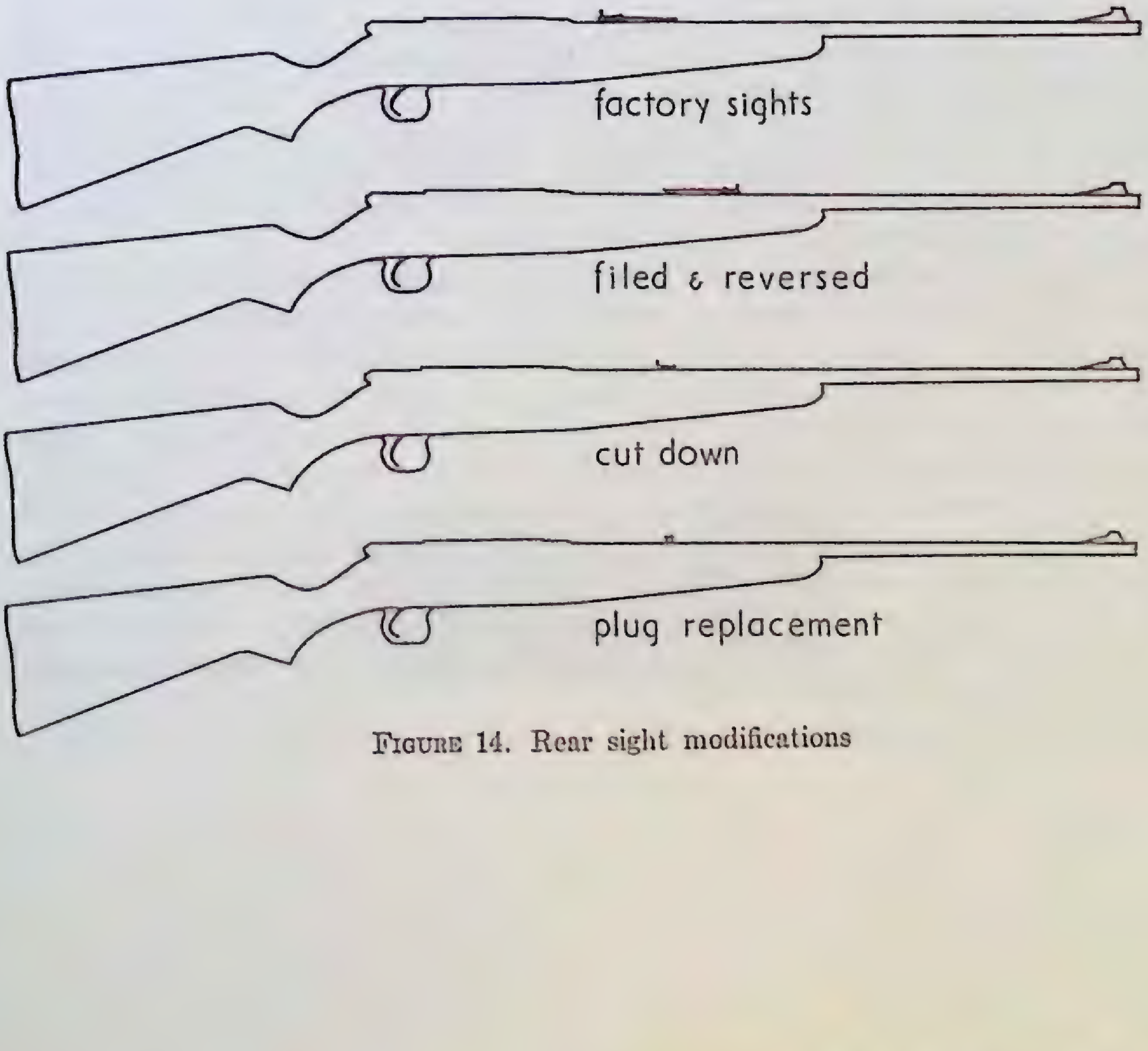

FIGURE 14. Rear sight modifications

possible. Sights should be quite durable because they take considerable abuse when rifles are lashed on dog sleds, knocked about on boats, or dropped. Factory rear sights are usually not solid enough to stay in alignment for long under local conditions. Scope sights are much too delicate for Ivuyivik.

Open sights are changed in a number of ways. The front sight is filed down on each side to give a thin blade. This makes it weaker, of course, and on one occasion I witnessed the front sight was badly bent laterally in a fall. To change the rear sight that comes with the rifle, it may be filed down flat and cut with a knife to give a fine notch. Sometimes the rear sight is also reversed back to front, moving it farther forward. Or, the back part may be cut off and the remaining horizontal piece of metal bent up, filed down to proper height, and notched. Often the factory rear sight is removed and replaced with a plug of metal taken perhaps from a stove lifter handle or other thick rod, filed down flat on top and notched. Such a sight is quite durable. The rear sight notch is so narrow and shallow that it can quite readily be obliterated by a bit of rust. Rifles usually are quite rusty, for they are left outside in the weather, often without any cover. It may sound contradictory, but the practice of leaving rifles outside stems from a desire to avoid rust. During cold weather, if a rifle is taken inside to warmer surroundings, moisture condenses on it leading to rust. Constant cleaning and oiling is inconvenient and is generally not practised. Barrels are more often cleaned with a round than a pull-through. Oiling is infrequent. In cold weather it may stick parts together like glue.

'Peep' or aperture sights are also changed. They come on some of the ex-military Lee Enfield .303's and are placed far back, of course, to be close to the eye. They are removed and replaced by a high metal plug type of open sight, often a heavy iron wedge, fixed on the barrel in a dove-tailed slot. The stock on the Enfields may be modified as well with the addition of a cheek rest-piece on top of the butt in 'Monte Carlo' fashion. Often the butt end is cut down and given a more concave back surface to fit close around the shoulder. Whether deliberate changes are made in the angle of the butt face relative to the line of the barrel to alter the pitch of the rifle was not investigated.

Filing down the sights is not restricted to Eskimo groups. For example, an Algonquin of the Golden Lake Reserve is said to have filed down the rear sight and thinned the front one on .22 Cooeys.[1] A flat rear sight gives better visibility as it has no rising lateral parts to obscure the game. The same is true for the front sight. When the hooded 'stove-pipe' sight now on rifles sold in the south reaches Ivuyivik, the tunnel-like sight guide will be removed, I think. With the modified sights, the thin front blade and the fine rear notch give greater accuracy for line. Range is allowed for by having greater or lesser amounts of the front sight blade project above the rear sight, i.e., the longer the range, the more blade is made to stick above the rear sight. The amount of blade projection for different ranges is learned through trial and error.

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[1] Bill Dellaire, pers. comm.

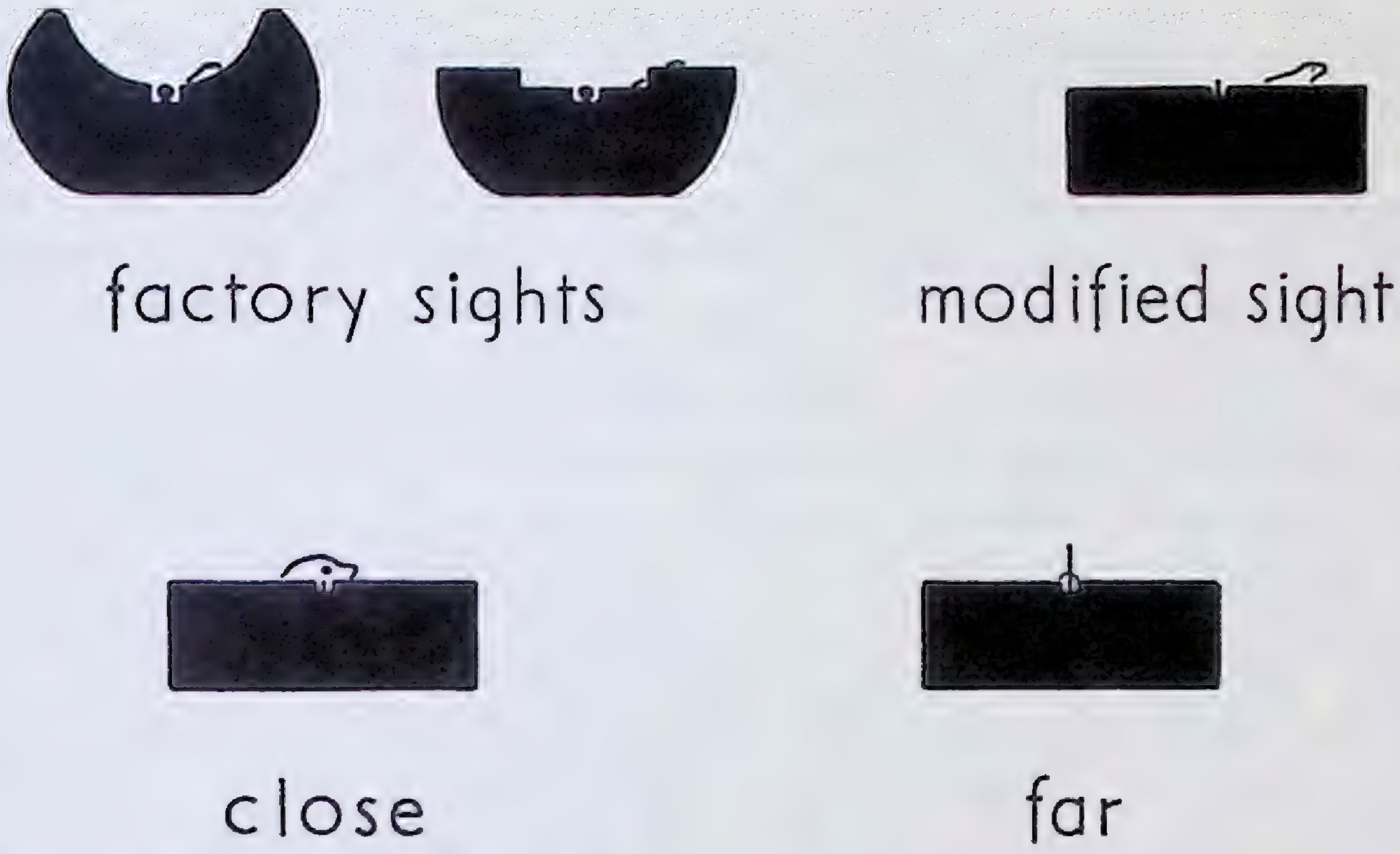

Figure 15. *Above:* Visibility in factory and modified sights; *below:* Allowance for range in modified sights

A more restricted type of modified sight was described by Johnny Pov. of Povungnituk. The front sight is not filed down. The rear sight is given a sort of scalloped shape with low convex wings rising on either side of the notch. This gives a large tapering opening, at the bottom of which a fine notch may be cut with a knife. This sight, described as 'nulungua' (resembling buttocks?) is better for hunting from boats than the flat modified sight whose fine notch and thin blade are hard to bring together onto the target when a boat is rocking about underfoot. In aiming with the 'nulungua' sights, the front bead is centred in the tapering notch depression and held under the target since the shot will be higher. For a hurried shot it is better with some to aim slightly to the left as well as to compensate for the barrel being pulled to the right. The problem of vision being obscured by the rising side sections is not serious because they are fairly low and aim is taken below the target.

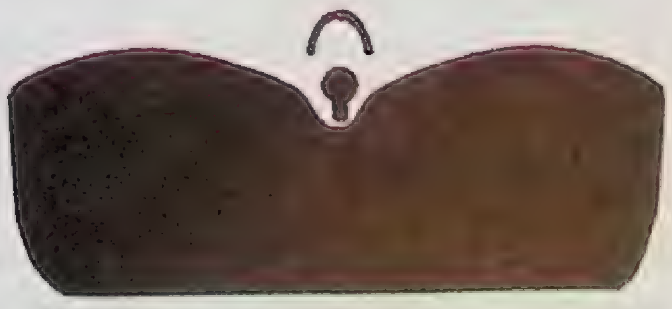

Figure 16. 'Nulungua' sights

Sights are aligned by lining up the barrel on an aiming point, then setting the sights to do the same. To align the sights on a bolt-action rifle, Charlie, E 9-997, one of the best shots at Ivuyivik, removed the bolt, propped the rifle up on the ground with rocks, and looking through the barrel lined it up on a small dark rock on a patch of snow about a hundred yards away. Then he adjusted the sights, tapping and bending them until they were on the same aiming point.

Sighting in or zeroing, as distinguished from aligning the sights, is done at relatively short ranges of about forty yards. Some small target such as a scrap of cardboard is used. A snow ground is good for recording shots that miss. Only if two shots at least hit the same spot are the sights considered good. When the sights have been zeroed in at short range, they may be tested at longer ranges to verify their accuracy. It is said that when the sights are all right at close range, they will also be on at longer ranges. Sighting in at short range is actually sound practice, for it fully utilizes the flat trajectory of the first part of the bullet's flight.

> By sighting at very short distances it is possible to zero the gun in so that the bullet will not be more than four inches above or below the line of sight at any range up to 250 yards . . . Let's take a look at what happens with the .30/06 firing a 150-grain bullet when we sight in at 100 yards. The mid-range trajectory is 0.6 inches; at 200 yards the trajectory goes up to 2.4 inches; at 300 yards it shoots up to 6.1 inches. But when we sight in at 25 yards with the same 150-grain bullet the shot will be 2.25 inches high at 100 yards but only one inch high at 50 yards. At 150 yards it will be 2.25 inches high, but at 200 yards only 1.25 inches high. At 225 yards it's dead on—zeroed in. At 250 yards it's only 1.5 inches low, six inches at 300. We're "on target" (which means easily able to put our bullet into a vital area without making sight adjustments or holding over or under) from muzzle out to 250 yards! (Leyson, 1960: 42)

Firing is done from various positions. A favourite one is that in which the man kneels on the right knee and supports the left elbow with the left knee. Usually he sits on the right foot, which is tucked underneath. The left hand supports the rifle rather close in toward the trigger guard. This right-knee-down left-knee-up position can be assumed quickly. And it gives adequate steadiness and keeps the hunter fairly low but not too low. Firing is also done from a standing position, most notably when hunting from boats and at open current holes in the ice. Both arms are unsupported, and though the rifle may not be held so steady as it is in other positions, the aim can be changed quickly to the spot where the game, say a seal, pops up in the water. Also, of course, on boats the standing position is best for absorbing any motion underfoot. Firing from a kayak involves a somewhat special position in that the legs are both extended in front of the seated hunter. The prone position gives perhaps the steadiest support to the rifle and keeps the hunter lowest but brings a lot of the body into contact with the ground, which may make the man wet and cold. However, it is often the best position for reasons of lack of good cover as in the stalking of seals sleeping on the ice without a shooting screen. A sitting position with both arms propped by the knees also gives steady support to the rifle, and some favour it, but usually when it can be employed, the right-knee-down left-knee-up position is used instead, because sitting brings the seat into contact with the ground and the position is a little less easily assumed. The kneeling position was probably also a favourite one with the bow and arrow.

Aiming has already been mentioned in the matter of allowing for different ranges by having different amounts of the front sight blade show above the rear sight and in the discussion of holding under and to the left in hurried shooting. I tried to find out from Tivi whether the eye is focused on the target, the front sight, or the rear sight, but he only replied that he looked at all three at once. Johnny Pov. also said that he looked at front sight, rear sight, and target all three, but when pressed, thought a bit and said that he looked most at the target. I believe that the hunter tends to focus his vision on the game, the object of his endeavours. With the local form of sights, i.e., finely notched rear sight placed well forward and a thin front blade, the problem of multiple images of the front sight when the eye is not focused on it may not interfere too much with correct aiming. Whatever may be the case, aiming is only one element among several that lead to success in hunting. Speed is often a more primary consideration than hairline accuracy in aiming. Often the sear is filed down to give a fast trigger. Some say that the left eye is better than the right. They may at times aim with the left eye though using a right-handed position. Some think a left-handed man has an advantage, in that it is natural for him to aim with the left eye though it may be a little more awkward for him to operate a bolt-action designed for a right-handed man. A few right-handed hunters may even go so far as to cultivate a left-handed shooting position.

To fire, the trigger is usually operated with the middle finger, the index being extended along the stock. Some keep the index finger placed over the bolt lever on bolt-action rifles, perhaps because on old ones there is fear that the bolt may not stay locked in. Peter, E 9-1080, who supplied this information, was consciously aware of this and other differences between the local Eskimo and whites in handling firearms. However, he himself fired with the index finger 'kadlunatitut,' 'white-man style.'

The opinion of whites on Eskimo marksmanship is often uncomplimentary, at least in northwestern Quebec. It is said that Eskimos are poor shots, although having had much shooting experience they should be good. The army officer organizing the Arctic Rangers in the fall of 1960 was said to have been amazed at the poorness of the shooting of the Ivuyivik men who agreed to become Rangers. However, if the Rangers were practising target-shooting with the .303 Lee Enfields assigned to them, which have peep sights, then they were shooting under conditions in which they were inexperienced, and the officer did not see the marksmanship of which they are capable when using their own weapons against game. In my opinion there are several good shots among the Ivuyivik hunters. They are particularly adept at shooting sea mammals in the water from boats, estimating range quickly and well, and shooting accurately from an unsteady platform. Marksmanship varies with each man, but on the whole I think that the Ivuyivik hunters, with their experience, are better shots under local conditions than most white men. There is also the feeling that Eskimos are wasteful with their ammunition. A man might be seen or heard firing off a couple dozen rounds of large calibre at some inanimate target in the settlement. Then some whites may think, "There is an Eskimo playing with his rifle again. How improvident!" Johnny Pov. who brought this matter up was emphatic in saying that a man isn't playing when he fires twenty or thirty shots at some target. It is often necessary to use many rounds before a rifle is sighted in properly, so that every shot will be dead on. With his rifle properly zeroed, at close range a hunter can choose the part of a seal he wants to hit whether head, neck, breast, or elsewhere. Often Eskimos do take many shots at birds, wood thrown in the water, or a small piece of floating ice apparently more for pleasure than for practice. But such shooting is done with the relatively inexpensive .22 ammunition in most cases, and who is to deny the men a little sport, particularly when it is more likely to be beneficial than the reverse. When swimming seals are pursued with boats, ammunition may appear to be wasted because often several shots are fired before the animal is hit, but the rounds really are not used needlessly, even when the seal is lost through sinking or disappearance since this type of hunting calls for considerable shooting. Often the chase is exciting, and the Eskimos appear to enjoy it, giving the impression perhaps that ammunition is being expended in non-profitable play rather than in honest hard work. Such an impression is especially likely to be gained, I think, from seeing something like the hunting technique of Isa Shivuarapik of Povungnituk, who shoots seals with a .22 pistol while his free left hand controls the outboard motor on his canoe. This eye-catching sight, suggestive of a sea-going cowboy, may always remain rather rare, however. To return to the matter of ammunition expenditure, it did appear to me that most Ivuyivik hunters fired more quickly and more often than a white man might be expected to under the same conditions. A white man probably will pay greater attention to aiming and thus gain greater accuracy, but at the expense of speed. The Ivuyivik Eskimo, on the other hand, is at times perhaps too hurried in his shooting, being eager to shoot for the sake of shooting itself and also to get the seal before anyone else. White visitors are likely to get the impression that Eskimos are liberal with ammunition, for they will probably see the shooting that is done from boats at seals in the water, ducks, murres, and bits of ice or tin cans tossed overboard for play rather than the solitary stalk after a sleeping seal which ends in a single shot. If they travel by dog-team and meet up with a fox, they may see the Eskimo driver blaze away and miss. Such shooting I again do not consider wasteful, since the hunter is trying to hit the animal during the brief seconds it stays in sight, and unless he fires quickly and often he will have but a couple of shots at the fleeting target. The game is worth a few extra rounds if these enhance the chances of making the kill.

qukiut, qukiuti – rifle
togaut – sight
togaut qidlik, togautiq ungadliq – front sight
togaut qangidlik, togautiq tudliq – rear sight
qoro – notch in rear sight
togautiub niaqonga – front sight bead
namasiliriutik – elevation adjustment on rear sight
uniqausi – elevation scale graduations
qilulak, qilu – trigger and sear
qilub ponga – trigger guard
mappitautiq – bolt including handle
puutatoq – hammer, bolt
qaritik – firing pin
puuquyauti – bolt head, extractor
napviq – catch to engage the sear
siluqpiq – notch in the bolt which cocks the action
puutatoq ininga – bolt chamber
shakkok ininga – cartridge chamber
shakkoloqviq, ipiaroq – magazine
iqiriqutik – safety catch
paa – muzzle
paungiyaut, asaut – pull-through
ishudlok – stock
tungaviq, mangiqtatoviq – butt plate
tigumiaqvik – place where the stock is gripped
atautinga – band holding barrel on to forestock
namausiqvik – sling swivels
namausiq – sling
shakko – cartridge

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LES ESQUIMAUX DE LA PÉNINSULE DU LABRADOR: ÉTUDES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES[1]

PAR ASEN BALIKCI

RÉSUMÉ

The aim of this paper is to introduce the student to the ethnographic literature on the Labrador Peninsula Eskimos. For nearly a century numerous scientists, explorers, missionaries, and government officials have been accumulating a vast body of information on both the traditional culture and the changing ways of the littoral inhabitants of Labrador. Before summarizing the essential points of some of the major contributions, it seems desirable to present the reader with a brief historical outline of the socio-economic changes in Labrador Eskimo culture. These changes involve the principal agencies interested in the North: the Hudson's Bay Company; the Anglican, Catholic, and Moravian missions; and various government units. The social traits transformed by intercultural contact have been numerous: acquisitive techniques, transportation devices, housing and clothing, residence patterns, collaborative forms, and so on. One may conclude that the whole of Eskimo culture has changed. Yet the field worker remains with the impression that in the centrally important field of interpersonal relations the present Eskimos still behave as their forefathers probably did: this particular quality of Eskimo social life was well understood by R. Flaherty in his famous ethnographic film.

This paper should be read in conjunction with Dr. M. Lantis's survey of "Problems of Human Ecology in the North American Arctic" (*see* Bibliography). Together with Dr. Lantis I should like to stress the importance of Labrador-Newfoundland as an area for the study of culture change in the Canadian North. In this region, Eskimos, Indians, and Euro-Canadians have lived in proximity for prolonged periods, exchanging goods and services and borrowing traits. In addition, this is probably the only area in Northern Canada for which detailed records (the archives of the Moravian missionaries) go back to the 18th century. It is to be hoped that future research will not neglect this important cultural province.

A—Aperçu de l'évolution culturelle

D'après Lucien Turner, les Esquimaux qui habitent la péninsule du Labrador se divisent en trois groupes principaux. Les Suhinimyut (suhinik: soleil) vivent à l'extrême est de la péninsule, i.e. sur la côte du Labrador proprement dite, et s'étendent vers l'ouest jusqu'à l'embouchure de la rivière Leaf. Les Tahagmiut (tahak: ombre) habitent la côte sud du détroit d'Hudson au nord de la baie Leaf et le côté ouest de la péninsule de l'Ungava en descendant jusqu'à l'île Smith. La partie de la côte est de la baie d'Hudson comprise entre la baie Mosquito et le cap Jones est occupée par les Itivimyut (Itivuk signifie l'autre côté, le côté éloigné, distant) (Turner, 1894, p. 176 à 179).

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[1] La préparation de ce travail a été facilitée par un octroi de *l'Institute for Research in Social Science*, Université de la Caroline du Nord.

Ultérieurement, sur sa carte ethnique de la péninsule du Labrador, Hawkes a indiqué les subdivisions en sous-groupes de ces unités principales et les a localisées d'une façon plus précise: les Putlavamiut, les Netcetumiut et les Aivitimiut au sud de l'anse Hamilton; les Avitimiut près de Hopedale; les Nunengumiut à Nain; les Okgamiut dans la région d'Okkak; les Kongithlughuamiut à Hebron; les Kidlinungmiut aux environs du cap Chidley et enfin les Kongithlushuamiut sur l'estuaire de la rivière George (Hawkes, 1916, carte 156A).

Pour ce qui a trait à la pénétration des Esquimaux vers le sud aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, Speck, dans deux exposés, a analysé la probabilité d'une adaptation esquimaude à l'intérieur des terres dans la partie est du Labrador entre le lac Michikaman et le golfe Saint-Laurent (Speck, 1931 et 1936). D'après Speck les Esquimaux auraient été délogés récemment de cette région par les Montagnais se déplaçant vers l'est. De plus Speck étend l'habitat traditionnel des Esquimaux de l'ouest du Labrador le long du côté est de la baie James jusqu'à la rivière East Main (Speck, 1931, p. 560 et 566). Cooper a rejeté avec raison cette dernière hypothèse de Speck. En reconsidérant les quelques données historiques à sa disposition, il n'a trouvé aucune preuve d'une extension traditionnelle du territoire esquimau au sud du cap Jones (Cooper, p. 276). La répartition récente des Esquimaux à travers la péninsule semble couvrir toute la côte au nord de l'anse Hamilton et du cap Jones (Tanner, p. 474).

Hawkes a estimé la population esquimaude du Labrador proprement dit à 1,250 individus pour l'année 1912 (Hawkes, p. 22). A. P. Low, en se basant sur les renseignements d'un employé de Fort-Chimo, a atteint le chiffre approximatif de 1,205 pour les groupes établis le long de la côte entre le cap Chidley et la Grande Rivière de la Baleine à la fin du siècle dernier (Low, 1895, p. 421). En gros, on peut estimer à près de 2,500 la population totale des Esquimaux de la péninsule du Labrador à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Si l'on songe aux épidémies qui ont décimé la population locale pendant la période de contact et au taux élevé de mortalité des Esquimaux, on se rend compte que ce chiffre a dû varier considérablement au cours du siècle dernier. En 1951, on a estimé à 2,758 individus la population esquimaude de la péninsule, soit 1,989 pour la côte du Nouveau-Québec, les autres habitant le Labrador terre-neuvien.

Attendu que certaines caractéristiques ainsi que la répartition de la faune utilisable peuvent influer sur les techniques de la chasse, les modes de collaboration et les migrations saisonnières des Esquimaux, le lecteur intéressé pourra consulter les commentaires de A. P. Low sur la pêche à la baleine telle qu'elle est pratiquée dans le détroit et dans le nord de la baie d'Hudson (Low, 1906, p. 248 à 283). MacLaren (MacLaren, 1958), entre autres, a étudié la répartition et la fonction économique du phoque dans l'est de l'Arctique. Loughrey (Loughrey, 1959) a étudié la répartition du morse et M. Dunbar a dirigé une série d'enquêtes sur les poissons. Elton (Elton, 1942) d'abord, et plus récemment Banfield (Banfield, 1948) et Rousseau (Rousseau, 1950) ont analysé le problème important que représente la raréfaction du caribou. Sur les cycles du renard dans le nord de la péninsule du Labrador on peut consulter l'ouvrage classique d'Elton.

Traditionnellement, les Esquimaux de la péninsule du Labrador employaient plusieurs méthodes pour chasser le phoque. En hiver, il est certain que la chasse au trou de respiration était un procédé très répandu. Low, cependant, ne nous donne des descriptions détaillées de cette technique qu'en parlant des Itivimyut de l'est de la baie d'Hudson. Il semble que les autres explorateurs n'aient pas observé cette technique dans les grands camps ou qu'ils aient traversé la région à une époque où le fusil avait déjà remplacé les harpons d'hiver. Plusieurs auteurs mentionnent la chasse le long des fissures ou crevasses de la banquise marine; nous n'avons cependant aucune indication quant à la méthode exacte utilisée. Cette méthode consistait peut-être à chasser soit à travers la mince couche de glace recouvrant les fissures, soit à partir du bord de la glace vers l'eau libre. Au printemps le chasseur préférait ramper vers l'animal endormi au soleil en imitant ses mouvements.

Les Itivimyut du nord se servaient au printemps d'un long harpon qu'ils faisaient glisser sur la glace. En été, la chasse au phoque se faisait à bord du kayac, à l'aide du harpon d'été plus lourd, d'un flotteur en peau de phoque, d'une lance et d'un long crochet. On utilisait aussi le kayac pour la chasse à la baleine blanche et, à l'occasion, pour la capture du morse et de la baleine. Il fallait les efforts conjugués de plusieurs chasseurs en kayac pour repousser les baleines blanches vers les extrémités peu profondes des baies où il était plus facile de les harponner. A l'est du Labrador plusieurs «kayakeurs» entouraient les morses et les refoulaient sur les plages basses où on les tuait à l'aide de lourds harpons. Quant à la baleine, au Labrador oriental, on la chassait de l'oumiak au moyen d'un harpon et de plusieurs flotteurs. Il est possible que les Esquimaux du sud du détroit d'Hudson aient adopté une technique semblable, quoiqu'il n'existe aucun témoignage historique concernant la chasse à la baleine dans cette région.

Il y avait deux méthodes principales traditionnelles de chasser le caribou. Toutes deux exigeaient généralement les efforts conjugués de plusieurs chasseurs. A la fin de l'été les kayacs en embuscade interceptaient les hardes qui émigraient vers le sud en empruntant certains lacs et rivières. On se servait d'une lance légère sans barbelures. Ailleurs on utilisait l'arc et la flèche. Les archers en embuscade derrière des monceaux de pierres attendaient le passage des hardes. Les rabatteurs imitaient le hurlement des loups et repoussaient les caribous vers les archers. A la fin du printemps et en été des chasseurs solitaires traquaient à l'arc et à la flèche de petites hardes dispersées dans la toundra. On chassait le gibier aquatique à bord du kayac à l'aide de javelots, de propulseurs et de bolas. En été on se servait d'un javelot spécial à une ou à trois dents pour tuer les jeunes canards encore incapables de voler. On tuait la perdrix des neiges avec des pierres ou des fléchettes.

La cueillette des œufs était importante. En automne on prenait des quantités considérables de truites saumonées dans les barrages de pierres des cours d'eau, au moyen de la foëne à trois dents, qui était le principal instrument de pêche. En été, des hameçons dormants faits d'andouillers recourbés de caribou et enveloppés dans la chair du même animal servaient à pêcher la truite lacustre. En hiver, à travers des trous pratiqués dans la glace, on pêchait la truite avec un appât et une foëne; la morue, avec un hameçon. A ce régime alimentaire de viande et de graisse, s'ajoutaient les baies, les algues marines et certaines racines.

Les méthodes de chasse des Esquimaux de la péninsule du Labrador indiquent clairement deux types d'adaptation écologique: adaptation à la mer, caractérisée par la chasse aux mammifères marins en hiver et au printemps; adaptation à la toundra caractérisée par les chasses collectives au caribou et par la pêche intensive en fin d'été et en automne. On a pu observer très distinctement ces deux phases du cycle annuel esquimau dans la région de l'Ungava et le long de la côte est de la baie d'Hudson à la fin du siècle dernier. A cette époque, la culture esquimaude du Labrador proprement dit avait déjà évolué grandement par suite d'un contact prolongé avec les Européens. Ce contact permit de développer de nouvelles formes d'adaptation écologique liées à l'importation des armes à feu, ce qui altéra rapidement le caractère dualiste du cycle annuel traditionnel.

Le vêtement traditionnel des Esquimaux du Labrador semble avoir été semblable à celui des Esquimaux de la terre de Baffin. La peau de caribou servait à la confection des habits de dessous et de dessus. L'intestin et la peau de phoque étaient utilisés pour la fabrication de bottes et de vêtements imperméables. Chez les Esquimaux de l'est du Labrador la façon de préparer les peaux de caribous dénote une influence indienne.

La maison de neige était l'habitation d'hiver des Esquimaux de l'ouest et du nord du Labrador. Les groupes de l'est construisaient autrefois des maisons semi-souterraines en pierre avec des toits de tourbe; quelques-unes de ces demeures étaient encore habitées à la fin du siècle dernier. Dans les camps permanents situés près des missions moraves, on construisit des maisons en bois d'épinette. En été, on habitait généralement des tentes de peaux de phoque. Il est probable cependant qu'on utilisait également la peau de caribou pour la fabrication de ces tentes avant la fin du siècle dernier. On se servait partout de lampes et de chaudrons de stéatite, de plats et de séchoirs en bois ainsi que de récipients de peau de phoque.

En hiver, le traîneau de bois, souvent monté sur des patins d'ivoire et tiré par des chiens attelés en éventail, constituait le moyen de transport idéal. En été, on entreprenait les migrations à l'aide de l'oumiak, le «bateau des femmes», couvert de peau, long et solide et qui pouvait porter de lourdes charges. Le kayac couvert de peaux de phoque, de longueur variable, servait aux courts voyages le long de la côte et surtout aux migrations vers les territoires de chasse au caribou. A la fin du XIX^e siècle, certains Esquimaux de l'ouest de l'Ungava employaient des kayacs couverts de peaux de caribou, ce qui indique une adaptation permanente à la toundra.

Nous sommes très peu renseignés sur l'organisation sociale traditionnelle des Esquimaux du Labrador. Bien que certains auteurs se soient intéressés aux pratiques de mariage et aux relations maritales, il n'existe aucune étude systématique sur le leadership, sur l'extension et la reconnaissance de la parenté, sur les relations de la famille nucléaire avec les unités socio-économiques de base. Dans la plupart des cas l'importance socio-économique de la famille nucléaire est fortement soulignée, celle-ci étant considérée comme la principale unité commensale. L'autorité assez imprécise d'un ancien ne dépasse pas le cercle étroit de ses descendants. Les fiançailles entre enfants paraissent fréquentes chez les Koksoakmiut. Les liens du mariage pouvaient être facilement brisés par l'un ou l'autre des conjoints ou par le chaman. Ce dernier manifeste son influence au niveau du camp; on recherche son intervention à l'époque des migrations, à l'occasion d'une grande chasse ou de quelque entreprise extraordinaire. Les délinquants sont ostracisés et les meurtriers vivent dans la crainte perpétuelle de la vengeance. Pendant les périodes de famine, il peut arriver qu'un vieillard incapable de suivre le groupe migrateur soit abandonné.

Les traits essentiels des croyances religieuses esquimaudes et des pratiques chamanistiques se retrouvent chez les Esquimaux du Labrador: les gardiens individuels et surnaturels qui ont ici un caractère maléfique, les innombrables esprits des objets naturels et une déité supérieure appelée Tungak, qui représente la mort. Les Esquimaux de l'est du Labrador et ceux de l'Ungava croient à un esprit supérieur habitant une immense caverne près du cap Chidley. Il a l'apparence d'un énorme ours blanc et règne sur les caribous. Le chaman guérit les malades et attire le caribou. De nombreuses amulettes douées de pouvoirs surnaturels aident leurs possesseurs dans toutes les phases de la vie. Comme chez les autres groupes esquimaux, on observe de nombreux tabous alimentaires basés sur une distinction entre animaux marins et terrestres. Il semble que chez les Esquimaux du Labrador les fêtes de la baleine aient eu lieu dans des maisons de neige cérémonielles à l'occasion de la découverte d'une baleine morte. Ces fêtes comprenaient des compétitions avec lances, des tournois de boxe, de chant, de danse et des séances chamanistiques.

L'histoire des explorations de la péninsule du Labrador est un sujet complexe et a peu de rapport avec cet exposé. Le lecteur intéressé peut consulter Grenfell (Grenfell, 1910, chap. 1), Hawkes (Hawkes, 1916, p. 1 à 10), Bruet (Bruet, 1949, p. 102 à 122), Low (Low, 1895, rapport L, p. 7L à 19L). On trouvera une bibliographie des explorations de cette région dans la Bibliographie du Nouveau-Québec.

Il est difficile d'évaluer l'influence des baleiniers européens sur les coutumes des Esquimaux du Labrador. Étant donné que les baleines, lors de leurs migrations vers le nord de la baie d'Hudson, longeaient de près la côte nord du détroit d'Hudson, il est probable que les Tahagmyut n'eurent que de rares contacts avec les équipages des baleiniers pendant la dernière partie du XIX^e^ siècle. Les grosses baleines étaient inexistantes dans la partie est de la baie d'Hudson. Par contre, les Esquimaux de l'est du Labrador eurent des contacts prolongés avec les baleiniers, les colons et les pêcheurs européens. Cependant, ce sont les missionnaires moraves qui provoquèrent les plus grands changements culturels chez ces Esquimaux.

Après quelques essais infructueux, les Frères moraves construisirent leur première mission à Nain en 1771. Plus tard, ils en établirent plusieurs autres le long de la côte, toutes vouées à la conversion et à l'éducation des Esquimaux. En même temps ils tenaient des comptoirs d'échange dont les profits servaient à maintenir leurs œuvres. En 1925, la mission morave dut céder son activité commerciale à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson.

Bien que les Esquimaux aient construit des maisons de bois près des postes missionnaires, les Moraves les encouragèrent dans leur mode de vie traditionnel de chasse et de piégeage, qui exigeait des migrations saisonnières. Aussi y eut-il peu de changements dans leur régime carné. Il existe de nombreuses descriptions du cycle annuel des Esquimaux du Labrador pendant la seconde partie du XIX^e siècle et le début du XX^e. Celle qui va suivre est un résumé des notes de Reichel et de Koch. «La nouvelle année trouve nos ouailles rassemblées au poste missionnaire dans leurs maisons d'hiver. C'est le temps de l'année où l'assistance à l'église et à l'école est la plus nombreuse et le travail spirituel de la mission s'accomplit d'une façon régulière. L'occupation principale est la capture de la perdrix des neiges et du renard. Pour ce dernier on se sert de pièges et il en résulte fréquemment une grande fatigue, car ces pièges qui sont souvent placés à une grande distance de la maison, doivent être visités tous les jours, de peur qu'ils ne soient emportés par les loups. (. . .) En février, plusieurs d'entre eux [Esquimaux] regagnent les glaces des côtes en traîneau afin de capturer des phoques, ce qu'ils font de leurs kayacs quand ils atteignent l'eau libre. (. . .) Pendant la Semaine Sainte, tous se font un point d'honneur de se réunir aux postes. Après Pâques ils se dirigent généralement vers l'intérieur pour chasser le renne» (Reichel, p. 263). Les mois de mai et juin se passent à chasser le phoque dans l'île et la plus grande partie de l'été à pêcher la truite saumonée et la morue (Koch, p. 275 et suiv.). La chasse au caribou commence avec le retour de l'automne tandis que, à partir de novembre et jusqu'à Noël, les Esquimaux chassent les phoques en kayac ou à l'aide de filets (Koch, p. 276). Il est clair que la mission est le point convergent des migrations esquimaudes. Il est clair également que les Esquimaux des missions sont restés des chasseurs, le piégeage du renard s'avérant une activité secondaire. (Pour obtenir un aperçu général des relations de symbiose prolongées entre Esquimaux et Moraves et une bibliographie détaillée sur ce sujet, voir Tanner, p. 554 à 574.)

L'activité commerciale des Moraves ressemble à celle de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et des commerçants en fourrure français, Revillon Frères, sur les côtes nord et ouest de la péninsule. A la fin du siècle dernier et surtout au commencement du XX^e siècle, une chaîne de comptoirs d'échange fut établie tout le long de la péninsule du Labrador. Les transformations importantes apportées par les commerçants dans l'activité économique des Esquimaux ont déterminé de nouvelles formes d'adaptation écologique. (On obtiendra une liste des comptoirs d'échange du Labrador en consultant J. White, 1926.)

L'usage généralisé des fusils et plus tard des carabines fit abandonner aux Esquimaux certaines de leurs techniques de chasse traditionnelles. Il n'était plus nécessaire d'organiser des chasses collectives au caribou. Au lieu d'attendre que les troupeaux arrivent à tel endroit durant telle saison, un chasseur pouvait réussir une bonne chasse en toute saison. Parallèlement aux effets individualisants de la chasse à la carabine, le contrôle des Esquimaux sur les hardes augmenta considérablement. L'inévitable s'ensuivit, des troupeaux entiers furent massacrés et après 1905 le nombre de caribous diminua rapidement. On a estimé qu'à l'époque traditionnelle, les caribous de la toundra de cette région se chiffraient à environ 700,000 (Banfield, communication personnelle) ; en 1955, après enquête sur place, Banfield compta un total de 6,120 caribous pour toute la péninsule (Banfield, 1958, p. 564). L'extermination des troupeaux amena la disparition d'une source importante de nourriture, de fourrure pour le vêtement et d'andouillers qui servaient aux usages domestiques. On remplaça ces produits par les denrées des comptoirs d'échange, ce qui augmenta la dépendance des Esquimaux vis-à-vis des marchands. La tendance fut d'acheter des quantités de plus en plus grandes de nourriture et d'étoffes importées.

L'introduction du fusil transforma les techniques de la chasse au phoque. La chasse au trou de respiration, généralement activité collective, fut graduellement abandonnée et remplacée par la chasse individuelle pratiquée au bord de la banquise d'où le chasseur surveille la mer libre et tire sur le phoque qui vient respirer à la surface. Le phoque est alors récupéré à l'aide d'un harpon lancé du kayac ou du canot. On a aussi abandonné l'usage du long harpon qu'on faisait glisser et dont on se servait au printemps. On emploie maintenant l'écran blanc et la carabine.

Pour la capture du gibier aquatique le fusil de chasse plus efficace a remplacé le javelot lancé d'un kayac. La pêche collective de la truite saumonée dans les barrages de pierres des cours d'eau a cédé le pas au filet, qui est la propriété personnelle de celui qui s'en sert. Bref, l'usage des armes à feu dans la région a eu pour effet d'individualiser et de simplifier le travail des Esquimaux en augmentant leur contrôle sur le gibier et leur mobilité individuelle au détriment des migrations collectives.

L'introduction de baleinières de divers tonnages et récemment de canots à moteur a amené des résultats organisationnels différents. Les baleinières étaient généralement la propriété d'un petit nombre de parents: un père et ses fils, des frères, un oncle et son neveu, etc. L'aîné dans ces groupes, étant généralement le trappeur le plus adroit donc le plus riche, était le principal propriétaire, capitaine et chef du bateau. Il dirigeait les expéditions de chasse d'été et les déménagements de camps. L'équipage composé de ses parents formait une unité de travail. En été, la chasse au phoque à l'aide de fusils devient donc une activité coopérative, le capitaine dirige la course du bateau avec des gestes brefs, le pilote tient le gouvernail pendant que les chasseurs surveillent l'apparition du gibier. La baleinière devient ainsi la base matérielle sur laquelle un petit nombre de parents formera le noyau d'un camp, augmentant sa solidarité et sa stabilité.

On payait avec des peaux de renards les bateaux, les fusils, les munitions, la nourriture et les vêtements importés. C'est ainsi que le piégeage du renard blanc devint chez ces Esquimaux une activité importante. Le piégeage se fit d'abord d'une façon irrégulière, avec un petit nombre de pièges d'acier placés près du camp. On augmenta graduellement le nombre des pièges jusqu'à en aligner plusieurs centaines. Ces rangées de pièges, qui mesuraient souvent plus de cent milles de longueur, suivaient généralement le lit d'une rivière, ce qui facilitait le va-et-vient en traîneau. Dans certaines aires un mode de propriété individuel du sentier de piégeage s'est développé. Un père qui le premier a établi un tel sentier est accompagné sur le parcours par son fils ou un jeune parent. Les pièges sont séparés, ceux du jeune homme sont disposés à l'extrémité de la ligne. Quand l'aîné est incapable de se déplacer, le plus jeune surveille ses pièges à sa place. A la mort du père, le fils (ou un autre jeune parent) «hérite» de tout le sentier. Dans certains cas deux ou plusieurs parents se partagent un seul sentier, généralement de forme ovale. Les peaux sont strictement la propriété individuelle de chacun. Les sentiers de piégeage sont généralement répartis en forme d'éventail convergeant vers l'estuaire d'une large baie où le camp d'hiver est situé. A cause du mode de propriété des sentiers de piégeage, les habitants d'un même camp tendent à former une unité résidentielle relativement stable dont un groupe de frères constitue généralement le noyau. La propriété des baleinières et le système de piégeage produisent ces résultats organisationnels convergents.

Il est vrai que dans les cadres du commerce de la fourrure, la famille nucléaire se comporte comme une unité socio-économique distincte dans ses transactions avec le commerçant. Cependant, l'apparition d'un chef de «camp» qui contrôle l'utilisation collective des bateaux et surtout la persistance de la coutume qui consiste à partager la viande au niveau du camp, font de ce dernier une unité économique autonome.

Récemment, dans certaines localités côtières où des bases d'opérations du gouvernement fédéral et d'autres établissements ont été créés, les Esquimaux ont eu des contacts intenses avec un grand nombre d'Euro-canadiens. C'est ainsi qu'a commencé la dernière phase d'acculturation des Esquimaux de la péninsule du Labrador. Cette phase entraîna la concentration de plusieurs camps auprès des principaux comptoirs et des groupes entiers d'Esquimaux abandonnèrent la chasse et le piégeage pour devenir les employés de ces organismes. Il en résulta cette différenciation occupationnelle de plus en plus grande que l'on peut observer aujourd'hui chez certains groupes ainsi que certains traits dysfonctionnels: le vieux droit au partage en commun de la viande prévalant encore dans les plus grands campements, on demandait au chasseur de distribuer sa prise parmi les travailleurs qui ne pouvaient pas retourner ce don. De plus, des tensions inter-ethniques se développaient, donnant aux Esquimaux la sensation de devenir étrangers dans leur propre pays.

Dans d'autres aires, l'artisanat prit beaucoup d'importance; en particulier la sculpture de figurines en stéatite. L'augmentation du revenu en espèces de ces groupes, tels les Povernitormiut, diminua la pression écologique et leur fit abandonner graduellement le piégeage. Ils dépendirent toujours davantage de l'importation de comestibles, ce qui provoqua la concentration finale des habitants de la côte en une seule localité. La distribution des allocations familiales hâta ce processus.

La conversion des Esquimaux du nord et de l'ouest du Labrador à la foi anglicane s'accomplit avec une rapidité et un succès étonnants pendant les années 1880-1890. Ce fut surtout l'œuvre d'un seul missionnaire, le révérend E. J. Peck (voir Lewis). Les missionnaires anglicans initièrent certains catéchistes esquimaux à la célébration du culte. Ces derniers régissaient les nouvelles croyances et pratiques. Les camps isolés gardaient ainsi une certaine autonomie religieuse.

Les missionnaires répandirent l'écriture syllabique qui permettait aux Esquimaux de lire et d'écrire leur propre langue. L'usage de ces caractères se répandit très rapidement.

D'autres organismes euro-canadiens ont exercé une influence sur la région. Tels les détachements de la Gendarmerie royale affectés à divers endroits, qui veillaient à l'application de la loi et secouraient les indigents. Récemment le gouvernement fédéral a créé des écoles, des cliniques, des services d'administration et d'assistance sociale dans plusieurs endroits de la région.

De plus en plus, les groupes esquimaux traditionnellement autonomes et migrateurs s'intègrent aux organisations établies. Leur économie est maintenant impliquée dans celle du vaste empire de la traite des fourrures. De par leur conversion religieuse ils sont devenus membres des organisations religieuses internationales et politiquement ils dépendent de plus en plus des décisions de la Gendarmerie royale et de l'administrateur fédéral. Il est certain que leur concentration en groupements plus considérables et plus stables a facilité leur intégration dans les divers secteurs de la culture nationale.

B—Études ethnographiques

Les études ethnographiques sur les Esquimaux du Labrador se divisent en deux catégories: *a*) les écrits de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle, surtout monographiques et qui décrivent la culture traditionnelle et *b*) les études récentes qui traitent généralement des sujets d'actualité des groupes acculturés.

McLean (McLean, 1932, p. 266 à 280), Payne (Payne, 1890, p. 358 à 360 et 1899, p. 213 à 230), Stupart (Stupart, 1887, p. 95 à 114) et Turner (Turner, 1887, p. 99 à 119) ont publié de courtes descriptions des coutumes traditionnelles des Esquimaux de l'Ungava et du détroit d'Hudson avant la fin du siècle dernier.

McLean a été commerçant à Fort-Chimo de 1838 à 1842 et nous a donné un bref aperçu des Koksoagmiut. Son compte rendu d'une bataille locale est frappant: «Pendant l'hiver de 1840 deux hommes se querellaient au sujet d'une femme et en vinrent aux coups, les adversaires se battirent avec acharnement jusqu'à ce que l'un deux réussît à s'emparer de son couteau et à atteindre son rival à l'abdomen. Le blessé dont les intestins débordaient n'abandonna la partie que lorsque des coups répétés accompagnés de perte de sang lui firent rendre les armes en même temps que la vie. Il semble que la galanterie ait été la cause première des querelles qui s'élevaient parmi eux» (McLean, 1932, p. 268).

Payne, en décrivant le cycle annuel des Esquimaux de la baie Payne, a noté qu'ils vivaient au bord de la mer pendant l'hiver et qu'ils capturaient alors le phoque par la méthode dite chasse au trou de respiration et à l'aide du harpon. En mars, période de famine, ils faisaient des voyages collectifs répétés le long de la côte à la recherche du phoque devenu rare. Les trois mois suivants, le gibier est abondant, la chasse au phoque le long des fissures est importante et les premiers caribous du printemps sont tués. Certaines familles passent l'été auprès des grands lacs intérieurs à chasser le caribou et à récolter les baies. Une méthode curieuse pour capturer le poisson consiste «à construire des murs de pierres en forme de sac qui s'élèvent à six pouces au-dessus de la surface de l'eau, puis à l'aide de bâtons et de pierres à agiter l'eau et refouler ainsi le poisson vers le piège» (Payne, 1899, p. 218). De leurs kayacs les autres membres du groupe chassaient le phoque, le morse et la baleine. La deuxième saison de chasse au caribou avait lieu de la mi-août à la mi-septembre. Au début de l'hiver, lorsque la glace des mers est encore mince, les gens se nourrissent surtout de la viande accumulée dans les caches. Payne note que lors des périodes de famine on cherche à éviter le partage et la prise est vite dissimulée. L'opinion de McLean est surprenante; il écrit que les Esquimaux ne connaissent pas le partage: «chaque individu ayant pris part à une poursuite garde son propre gibier, ses réclamations étant confirmées par les marques distinctives de ses flèches» (McLean, 1932, p. 272).

Il est intéressant de noter qu'à ses débuts la traite des fourrures a semblé stimuler les échanges entre Esquimaux; «le troc de l'un à l'autre et avec les habitants des endroits éloignés de la côte était une pratique courante, la peau de renard blanc servant d'unité monétaire» (Payne, 1899, p. 221). On peut noter des développements semblables chez les Esquimaux Netsilik, Utkuhiksalik et Aivilik de la côte arctique au début du siècle. On y échangeait des chiens et du bois d'épave contre divers articles d'importation.

Après un séjour prolongé chez les Koksoagmiut de la baie d'Ungava au début des années 1880, Lucien Turner a publié deux ouvrages importants sur ces Esquimaux. Il tente de nous donner un tableau complet de la culture locale, en abordant les sujets suivants: mariage, éducation des enfants, coutumes funéraires, religion, vêtement, habitation, articles de ménage, préparation de la nourriture, moyens de transport, chasse, jeux, art. folklore, etc. Puisque les croyances religieuses traditionnelles des Esquímaux de la péninsule du Labrador n'ont guère été étudiées dans les autres travaux, nous en donnerons ici un aperçu.

Des êtres surnaturels animent l'univers visible et s'ingèrent dans les affaires temporelles: «Toutes les choses de ce monde sont gouvernées par des esprits qui dominent chacun un certain élément et qui sont dominés à leur tour par un esprit plus grand» (Turner, 1894, p. 193). Chaque individu est accompagné d'un être surnaturel, qui le plus souvent élit domicile dans une poupée placée au milieu d'un tas de vêtements. Cet esprit protecteur n'exerce son influence que lorsqu'il est porté par un individu un peu à la façon d'une amulette. Turner affirme que cet esprit «protecteur» est malveillant de nature et qu'il est «même prêt à saisir la moindre occasion pour faire du mal à l'individu qu'il accompagne». Les relations entre l'esprit et son possesseur sont ambivalentes. Au chasseur qui lui demande son aide, l'esprit peut répondre oui ou non. Il est toujours possible cependant que l'aide demandée soit accordée, ce qui explique certaines attitudes du propriétaire à l'égard de son esprit. Si celui-ci cause ouvertement préjudice à son possesseur, ce dernier essaiera de s'en débarrasser en le passant subrepticement à quelqu'un d'autre. Si l'esprit est réticent, il peut être puni par privation de nourriture et de vêtements. L'individu exerce donc une certaine autorité sur son gardien surnaturel.

Ces relations entre l'esprit et son possesseur chez les Esquimaux du Labrador ont essentiellement le même caractère ambivalent que celles du chaman Netsilik envers son aide surnaturel, le tunrag. Cet être capable de bienfaits peut devenir furieux et agir contre n'importe lequel des résidents du groupe, y compris le chaman lui-même. Un chaman mal intentionné peut confier des missions malveillantes à un tunrag puissant et généralement docile. S'il échoue dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche, le tunrag devient un «tunrag kidlorets» assoiffé de sang, i.e. un esprit maléfique qui met toute la communauté en danger.

Un deuxième groupe d'esprits habitent et dominent les éléments visibles de l'univers arctique. «Chaque petite baie de la côte, chaque pointe, chaque île, chaque rocher possède son esprit protecteur» (Turner, 1894, p. 194). Tous ces esprits semblent maléfiques.

Les esprits secondaires, y compris les gardiens personnels, semblent être placés sous la domination de Tungak, sorte d'être suprême qui représente la mort et qui menace constamment la vie des humains. Les non-initiés n'ont aucun rapport avec lui, seul le chaman est capable d'apaiser sa colère ou d'obtenir ses faveurs.

Il est à remarquer que chez les Esquimaux du Labrador, tous les êtres surnaturels sont fondamentalement mauvais. Cela nous aide à comprendre pourquoi les observateurs de la vie esquimaude l'ont décrite comme étant remplie de crainte. Il est à regretter que Turner n'ait pas analysé la façon dont ces relations ambivalentes avec les esprits ont pu influencer la nature des relations entre les hommes.

Turner a raison d'accorder au chaman un statut important dans la vie sociale, égalé seulement par celui de l'ancien, qui dirige l'activité du groupe familial étendu. L'homme qui entend «l'appel» se retire dans un endroit isolé et s'abstient de manger et de boire pendant un certain temps. Tungak, le grand esprit, rend visite à cet homme qui souffre et lui enseigne l'art de chasser les mauvais esprits. Le chaman acquiert ainsi le privilège de guérir les malades et d'être rémunéré pour ses services: «Le patient est couché sur le sol aux pieds du chaman qui, lorsqu'il a atteint l'état extatique voulu, se prosterne sur le malade et commence à chasser le mal d'où il est logé. (. . .) A mesure que l'état de transe augmente le chaman émet des sons horribles, criant de temps à autre jusqu'à ce que le mal se soit déplacé dans une autre partie du corps» (Turner, 1894, p. 195-196). Si le patient ne guérit pas, on explique le phénomène par l'intervention imprévisible de quelque autre agent surnaturel. La maladie étant causée par des esprits malveillants, on change parfois la position de certains individus à l'intérieur du groupe afin d'embrouiller et de désorienter les esprits. Ainsi le chaman peut ordonner aux maris de changer d'épouses; ce qui lui confère une certaine autorité sur les liens maritaux.

Il semble exister des spécialisations chez les chamans. Certains excellent à guérir les malades, d'autres acquièrent une réputation dans la science du monde surnaturel et régissent les intempéries. D'autres, en raison de leur grande habileté de chasseurs et à l'aide de certaines formules magiques, feraient venir le caribou. Tout cela indique les fonctions importantes assumées par le chaman: il doit exercer une action protectrice lors des désastres et demeure un réel soutien dans l'activité essentielle à la survivance du groupe.

Plusieurs autres croyances et pratiques sont à peine esquissées: le vocabulaire chamanistique, les amulettes, les tabous alimentaires, etc., sont à peine notés ou sont tout à fait omis. Devons-nous croire à leur absence chez les Esquimaux de la péninsule du Labrador? Nulle part il n'est fait mention de cette forme importante de magie maléfique pratiquée d'une façon mécanique par beaucoup d'Esquimaux et appelée *ilihiitsut* chez les Netsilingmiut.

En 1914, Hawkes a traversé la péninsule du Labrador depuis l'anse Hamilton, où il étudia les limites de la poussée vers le sud des Esquimaux, jusqu'au cap Dufferin. Sa méthode est celle des premiers ethnographes. Après l'introduction historique habituelle et la description des conditions géographiques, la première moitié de l'ouvrage traite de la culture matérielle et le reste est partagé en descriptions des coutumes sociales, des jeux, de la musique, de la religion, des cérémonies et de la mythologie. La partie traitant de la culture matérielle est consacrée en grande partie aux collections ethnographiques rapportées de cette expédition et ne contient que quelques brèves notes sur les méthodes de chasse. On n'y trouve aucun compte rendu d'ensemble du cycle annuel de ces Esquimaux et aucune tentative d'intégrer les différents aspects de la culture locale ou d'analyser la vie sociale.

A. P. Low, géologue et explorateur, a ajouté aux descriptions habituelles du kayac, du traîneau et de l'iglou un compte rendu détaillé du cycle annuel des Itivimyut du Nord qui trafiquaient à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine à la fin du siècle dernier, époque où les armes à feu étaient déjà d'un usage courant. Je cite ici une description de ce cycle.

Au début de l'année, les familles esquimaudes voyagent sur la glace en direction du sud et des comptoirs d'échange. Les voyageurs apportent peu de provisions, ils comptent sur la capture du phoque qu'ils tueront en eau libre depuis les bords de la banquise. «Le voyage annuel s'accomplit par étapes; on s'arrête à un endroit propice à la chasse aux phoques et on y demeure jusqu'à ce qu'on en ait capturé un nombre suffisant pour nourrir la famille et les chiens pendant quelques jours. On charge alors le traîneau long et étroit et le groupe, généralement formé de deux familles, reprend sa marche le long du rivage. Il n'est pas rare qu'une femme précède les chiens afin de les stimuler» (Low, 1906, p. 142). Une fois le campement établi, on disposait les pièges à renard près des iglous. Le sentier de piégeage n'existait pas encore. Le piégeage semble d'ailleurs avoir été une activité secondaire pendant le voyage. Low continue: «Les Esquimaux passent donc les mois de janvier et de février à voyager vers le comptoir d'échange, où ils séjournent pendant quelques jours afin de faire sécher les peaux de renard et de les échanger au magasin contre des peaux de caribou» (Low, 1906, p. 152). Les Esquimaux troquaient d'abord ces fourrures contre du tabac et des munitions, ensuite contre des outils et des articles de métal. «Une fois les échanges terminés ils se réunissaient en bande, le plus souvent près d'une grande fissure ou en quelque autre endroit propice à la chasse au phoque. Ils passaient le mois suivant à visiter leurs amis des camps voisins et à échanger des nouvelles. Aux premiers signes d'une température plus clémente ils repartaient vers le nord.» Pendant le voyage du retour, on tuait à l'aide d'un fusil et d'un écran blanc le phoque qui se chauffait au soleil. On atteignait probablement les terrains de chasse traditionnels avant la fin du mois de mai. Low mentionne qu'en mai, les quelques familles qui avaient l'intention de passer l'été à l'intérieur des terres se dépêchaient de quitter la côte avant la fonte des neiges. Sur la côte, en juin, on chassait l'oie et le canard; le caribou était tué au fusil. A la fin de juin, les baies étant libres de glace, la principale activité devenait la chasse en kayac, d'où l'on tuait le phoque et la baleine blanche au fusil. A la mi-août, après avoir fait provision d'huile de phoque, les habitants des côtes entreprenaient leur migration annuelle vers l'intérieur des terres, interceptant les troupeaux de caribous qui se déplaçaient vers le sud. «Le début de l'automne se passe sur le territoire du caribou et le retour à la côte ne se fait que lorsque la neige est assez abondante pour permettre l'usage des traîneaux à chiens» (p. 159).

Ce cycle dépeint clairement la première phase du procédé d'acculturation. L'emploi du fusil a remplacé les méthodes traditionnelles de la chasse au phoque et au caribou. Le piégeage n'est pas encore développé, on n'utilise que quelques pièges placés à peu de distance du camp et les sentiers de piégeage sont inexistants. Une nouvelle forme de migration a lieu, c'est le long voyage d'hiver au comptoir d'échange. Là on troque des fourrures contre des denrées de première nécessité; on accomplit ses devoirs religieux et on rencontre d'autres Esquimaux des régions éloignées. A la fin de l'été et en automne on continue à se déplacer vers l'intérieur sur les territoires du caribou avec les femmes et les enfants selon le mode traditionnel.

Les travaux mentionnés ci-dessus sont très incomplets en comparaison des études ethnographiques classiques faites chez les groupes non acculturés d'Esquimaux canadiens. A l'exception peut-être de Turner, aucun observateur de la culture traditionnelle des Esquimaux du Nouveau-Québec n'a présenté d'études comparables à celles de Boas sur les insulaires de la terre de Baffin, de Jenness sur les Esquimaux du cuivre ou des anthropologues danois de la cinquième expédition de Thulé.

Un bon nombre d'explorateurs et de missionnaires ont dépeint les coutumes de maints groupes d'Esquimaux non acculturés du Nouveau-Québec (voir surtout Hutton, 1912, 1919, 1929; Leith, 1912; Tanner, 1947). Les recherches anthropologiques dans cette région ont connu un nouvel essor après les enquêtes menées par John J. Honigmann à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine en 1949 et 1950. Trois groupes ethniques vivent côte-à-côte à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine: les Esquimaux de la partie méridionale de la baie d'Hudson, les Indiens Cris établis à la limite septentrionale des terres boisées et 4 au 5 Euro-canadiens, y compris le missionnaire et le commerçant. Dans une étude sur les relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine, Honigmann a analysé de façon systématique les deux classes de facteurs jouant sur les relations entre groupes: ceux qui favorisent ces relations et ceux qui les gênent (Honigmann, 1952). Les groupes sont symbiotiquement dépendants les uns des autres dans plusieurs sphères d'activité: commerce, emplois salariés, culte religieux, soins médicaux. L'interaction des membres de ces différents groupes ethniques peut être également moins formaliste et motivée davantage par des sentiments amicaux. Les services variés rendus aux indigènes par les missionnaires, une fête à l'occasion de Noël donnée par la Compagnie, la distribution de viande de baleine, les visites, jeux de balle, danses sont autant d'occasions qui favorisent les contacts amicaux entre groupes. Les différences linguistiques, l'ethnocentrisme, l'antagonisme, les possibilités restreintes d'interaction constituent des facteurs défavorables. «La question de l'antagonisme est particulièrement intéressante, parce que de tels sentiments sont presque constamment restreints à une expression indirecte, ce qui permet de dire que les relations inter-ethniques à la Grande Rivière de la Baleine sont essentiellement exemptes de conflit.» (Honigmann, 1952, p. 521.) Dans un exposé plus récent, Honigmann a décrit comment le système social de la Grande Rivière de la Baleine se maintient dans le cadre d'une organisation sociale plus vaste (Honigmann, 1960).

L'installation d'un poste de radar à Great Whale River et l'arrivée d'ouvriers venus grossir les rangs du groupe euro-canadien provoquèrent des changements importants dans le mode (pattern) des relations inter-ethniques. Ces changements ont déjà fait l'objet d'une brève description (voir Balikci, 1961). Les nouvelles possibilités d'embauche ont orienté les Esquimaux vers des occupations différentes. Certains demeurent chasseurs et trappeurs, tandis que d'autres acceptent rapidement le travail rémunéré considéré comme un nouveau mode de vie global. Des tensions se sont produites entre ces sous-groupes. En même temps, la prostitution a fait naître des sentiments hostiles à l'égard des Euro-canadiens. L'introduction d'une économie monétaire a considérablement diminué le prestige du commerçant. Au lieu d'être le «patron» des trappeurs en contrôlant le système de crédit, le commerçant de 1957 remplit les fonctions d'un boutiquier de village.

En 1949, on informa les Esquimaux de la Grande Rivière de la Baleine de la décision de l'administration de remplacer par des munitions les rations de farine et de sucre allouées aux familles, cela dans le but de stimuler la chasse et le piégeage; Honigmann a analysé les répercussions immédiates et éloignées de ce changement (Honigmann, 1951). La consommation des aliments importés diminua considérablement, alors que la chasse locale et la fabrication artisanale connurent un renouveau. La reprise intensive de la chasse sépara les hommes de leurs familles pendant de longues périodes et la rareté des vivres fit naître des sentiments d'anxiété chez les parents soucieux du bien-être de leurs enfants. Certains refus de partage de la viande provoquèrent des accusations mutuelles d'avarice, qui donnèrent naissance à des sentiments hostiles entre Esquimaux. En même temps la tension grandit entre commerçant et indigènes.

Les explorateurs de l'Arctique ont décrit à maintes reprises le caractère particulier que prend l'éducation des enfants chez les Esquimaux. Honigmann a été l'un des premiers anthropologues à analyser systématiquement le mode d'éducation des enfants dans un groupe esquimau. Il décrit les diverses phases du développement de l'enfant: les premiers soins et l'alimentation du nourrisson, le développement de l'affectivité, l'activité de la petite enfance, l'entraînement à la propreté, l'apprentissage des connaissances pratiques, les relations de l'enfant avec ses parents, ses frères et sœurs, etc. Très tôt on enseigne à l'enfant à considérer comme valeurs essentielles la non-agression et le partage (Honigmann, 1953, p. 41). On trouvera des renseignements plus détaillés sur les Esquimaux de la Grande Rivière de la Baleine dans la monographie que le professeur Honigmann a consacrée à cette communauté (Honigmann, 1962).

Pendant l'été 1958, W. Willmott a étudié les Esquimaux de Port Harrison sur la côte est de la baie d'Hudson, comparant le principal établissement de Port Harrison avec les camps des alentours. Les Esquimaux de l'établissement principal apparaissent plus intégrés à l'économie monétaire euro-canadienne, comptant principalement, pour satisfaire à leurs besoins, sur les marchandises importées, tandis que l'économie de chasse demeure encore importante dans les camps isolés. Chez ces derniers les liens de parenté sont très forts. Les décisions majeures ne sont pas du ressort des indigènes de l'établissement principal mais sont le fait des agents euro-canadiens. Ici les Esquimaux semblent former un groupe artificiel en face de la communauté euro-canadienne qui leur procure un salaire. Le groupe familial est restreint et relativement indépendant des parents éloignés. Récréation et religion suscitent des façons d'agir plus formalistes qu'elles ne le font dans les camps. Stratification sociale et prestige fondés sur des revenus monétaires inégaux semblent déjà importants chez les indigènes de l'établissement principal. De plus, ce groupe est favorisé dans le domaine de l'éducation. Willmott conclut en notant que les divergences en face des valeurs culturelles entre établissements et camps peuvent devenir importantes dans un avenir rapproché (Willmott, 1961, p. 123). Dans une autre publication Willmott a analysé la souplesse de l'organisation sociale esquimaude. En 1959, N. Graburn a relevé certains changements dans le régime matrimonial parmi les Esquimaux de Sugluk, au détroit d'Hudson (Graburn, 1960). Le lecteur qu'intéresse une analyse comparative de l'organisation sociale de deux communautés, celle de Great Whale River étudiée en 1957 et celle de Povungnituk en 1958, accompagnée d'une brève description des changements socio-économiques survenus dans les mêmes communautés, voudra bien se référer aux deux études mentionnées dans la Bibliographie (Balikci, 1959 et 1960).

C—Les recherches futures

Le chercheur qui songe à un travail sur le terrain parmi les Esquimaux du Nouveau-Québec pourrait consulter la publication de M. Lantis, qui énumère les principaux problèmes en écologie humaine dans l'Arctique nord-américan (Lantis, 1954). La plupart des suggestions faites par M. Lantis s'appliquent aux habitants des régions côtières de la péninsule du Labrador. Si l'on tient compte des quelques études récentes sur l'ethnographie de cette région, on peut ajouter comme dignes d'étude les problèmes suivants. Puisque l'intrusion de divers organismes euro-canadiens dans la région constitue la cause de nombreux changements socio-culturels récents, il semble nécessaire d'entreprendre des recherches détaillées sur les modes variés d'interaction entre les Esquimaux et les agents locaux. Ces descriptions des relations inter-ethniques peuvent embrasser plusieurs périodes d'acculturation si l'on utilise les archives des missionnaires moraves et de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, ainsi que les résultats des recherches récentes sur le terrain. A un deuxième niveau il est essentiel d'étudier les changements culturels qui suivent l'établissement de ces différents modes de relations inter-ethniques. Cela nous permettra d'évaluer l'influence relative des processus de contacts inter-ethniques dans l'émergence des formes nouvelles d'adaptation écologique fondées sur l'utilisation des pièges en acier et des armes à feu. Ce point de vue peut constituer un cadre de travail permettant l'isolement de certaines variables essentielles qui peuvent être analysées dans une perspective historique. L'extension, la composition, les fonctions et le développement des unités socio-économiques de base peuvent ainsi être considérés comme une variable. On peut aussi se demander si certains changements dans les pratiques maritales et les règles de résidence ont affecté le fonctionnement de la parentèle, ou si la concentration de nombreux groupes côtiers dans un établissement a produit des formes sociales nouvelles et supérieures. Est-ce que la stabilisation des liens conjugaux et la diminution de la pression écologique ont apporté des changements dans le statut et le comportement des femmes? Est-ce que ce sont les facteurs écologiques, économiques ou purement sociaux qui ont déterminé le succès ou l'échec des programmes de développement de la communauté? Quelles sont les implications culturelles de la différenciation occupationnelle récente qu'on peut observer aujourd'hui? Dans le domaine obscur des croyances religieuses contemporaines des Esquimaux du Nouveau-Québec, est-il possible d'observer certains processus d'évolution religieuse dualistes ou syncrétistes?

Ces quelques suggestions peuvent être considérées soit dans les cadres d'une étude de communauté soit comme autant de problèmes séparés.

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